1507/143.

ESSAYS

MORAL, ECONOMICAL,

AND

POLITICAL.

T. BENSLEY, PRINTER,

BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET, LONDON.

ESSAYS

MORAL, ECONOMICAL,

AND

POLITICAL.

BY

FRANCIS BACON,

BARON OF VERULAM,

AND

VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. PAYNE, MEWS GATE.

1800.

BRITISH MUSEUM
30
61
MAR

PREFACE.

The illuſtrious Author of theſe Eſſays is ſo generally known as a man and a writer, that any particular account of him on the preſent occaſion would be ſuperfluous. To dwell, indeed, on the incidents of my Lord Bacon's life, would be an unpleaſant and mortifying taſk: for ever muſt it be deplored by the lover of literature and his ſpecies, that the poſſeſſor of this extraordinary intellect ſhould have been expoſed to the dangers of a ſituation, to which his firmneſs was unequal; and, withdrawn from the retirement of his ſtudy, where he was the firſt of men, ſhould have been thrown into the tumult of buſineſs, where he diſcovered himſelf to be among the laſt. The ſuperiority, it is true, of his talents rendered him every where eminent; and when we ſee him acting at court, in the ſenate, at the bar,

or on the bench, we behold an engine of mighty force, ſufficient, as it would appear, to move the world: but when we carry our reſearch into his boſom, we find nothing there but the ebullition and froth of ſome common or corrupt paſſions; and we are ſtruck with the contraſt between the littleneſs within, and the exhibition of energy without. But peace be to the failings of this wonderful man! they who alone were affected by them, his contemporaries and himſelf, have long ſince paſſed to their account; and exiſting no more as the ſtateſman or the judge, he ſurvives to us only in his works as the father of experimental phyſics, and a great luminary of ſcience.

In his literary character he muſt always be contemplated with aſtoniſhment; and we cannot ſufficiently wonder at the riches or the powers of his mind; at that penetration which no depth could elude; that comprehenſion for which no object was too large; that vigour which no labour could exhauſt; that memory which no preſſure of acquiſitions could ſubdue. By his two great works, "On "the Advancement of Learning," and "The "New Organ of the Sciences," written amid

the diſtraction of buſineſs and of cares, ſufficient of themſelves to have occupied the whole of any other mind, did this mighty genius firſt break the ſhackles of that ſcholaſtic philoſophy which had long cruſhed the human intellect; and, diverting the attention from words to things, from theory to experiment, demonſtrate the road to that height of ſcience, on which the moderns are now ſeated, and which the ancients were unable to reach.

But theſe grand diſplays of his genius and knowledge are now chiefly regarded as they preſent to the curious an illuſtrious evidence of the powers of the human mind. Having awakened and directed the exertions of Europe, the uſefulneſs of theſe writings has in a great degree been ſuperſeded by the labours of the ſubſequent adventurers in ſcience; who, purſuing the track marked out for them by their great maſter, have found it opening into a region of clear and ſteady light. Of the other works of this great man, which were objects of admiration to his own times, the following Eſſays are perhaps the only ones which retain much of their priſtine popularity. His law treatiſes have always been reſtricted by

their ſubject within the line of a profeſſional circle: of his ſtate papers and ſpeeches the power has expired with the intereſt of thoſe events to which they were attached; and his hiſtory of Henry the ſeventh, blemiſhed as it is with ſomething more than thoſe defects of ſtyle, which, from the example and patronage of a pedant king, then began to infect the purity of our compoſition, is in theſe days conſulted only by the few.

But theſe Eſſays, written at a period of better taſte, and on ſubjects of immediate importance to the conduct of common life, "ſuch as come home to men's buſineſs and "boſoms," are ſtill read with pleaſure, and continue to poſſeſs, in the preſent age, nearly as much eſtimation as they did in that which witneſſed their firſt publication. From the circumſtance of their having engaged his attention at different and remote intervals of his life, they appear to have ſhared a more than common portion of their great author's regard; and they are evidently compoſed in his happieſt manner, and with the full ſtretch of his powers. In them we are preſented with all the wiſdom which the deepeſt erudition could recover from

the gulph of buried ages; and with all that alſo which the moſt ſagacious and accurate obſervation could ſelect from the ſpectacle of the paſſing ſcene: in them we behold imagination and knowledge equally ſucceſsful in their exertions; this as the contributor of truths, and that as opening her affluent wardrobe for their dreſs; one like the earth throwing out of her boſom the organized forms of matter, and the other like the ſun arraying them in an endleſs variety of hues.

Of the Essay, that moſt agreeable and perhaps moſt uſeful vehicle of inſtruction, my Lord Bacon muſt be conſidered, at leaſt in our own country, as the inventor; and to the ſucceſs of his attempt may be aſcribed that numerous race of writers, to whoſe ſhort and entertaining leſſons the public mind may be regarded as principally indebted for its preſent cultivation and refinement.

Thus ſtrongly recommended by their intrinſic worth, theſe Eſſays poſſeſs alſo an additional and accidental value from the circumſtance of their conſtituting all which, in ſome ſenſe, remains of their admirable author. His other works, as it has been already remarked,

are in fact extinct to the many, and now generally known only as a mighty name, and the writer of these shorter compositions, the great Lord Bacon, may not improperly be considered as shrunk, like the ashes of an Alexander in a golden urn, within the limits of this little but sterling volume.

ESSAYS OR COUNSELS,

CIVIL AND MORAL.

TO MR. ANTHONY BACON,

His dear Brother.

Loving and beloved brother, I do now like ſome that have an orchard ill neighboured, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent ſtealing. Theſe fragments of my conceits were going to print: to labour the ſtay of them had been troubleſome, and ſubject to interpretation; to let them paſs had been to adventure the wrong they might receive by untrue copies, or by ſome garniſhment which it might pleaſe any that ſhould ſet them forth to beſtow upon them; therefore I held it beſt diſcretion to publiſh them myſelf, as they paſſed long ago from my pen, without any further diſgrace than the weakneſs of the author; and as I did ever hold, there might be as great a vanity in retiring and withdrawing men's conceits, (except they be of ſome

nature,) from the world, as in obtruding them: ſo in theſe particulars I have played myſelf the inquiſitor, and find nothing to my underſtanding in them contrary or infectious to the ſtate of religion or manners, but rather, as I ſuppoſe, medicinable: only I diſliked now to put them out, becauſe they will be like the late new halfpence, which though the ſilver were good, yet the pieces were ſmall; but ſince they would not ſtay with their maſter, but would needs travel abroad, I have preferred them to you that are next myſelf; dedicating them, ſuch as they are, to our love, in the depth whereof, I aſſure you, I ſometimes wiſh your infirmities tranſlated upon myſelf, that her majeſty might have the ſervice of ſo active and able a mind; and I might be with excuſe confined to theſe contemplations and ſtudies, for which I am fitteſt: ſo commend I you to the preſervation of the Divine Majeſty.

Your entire loving brother,

FRAN. BACON.

From my chamber at Gray's Inn,
this 30th of January 1597.

To my loving Brother,

SIR JOHN CONSTABLE, KT.

My laſt Eſſays I dedicated to my dear brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongſt my papers this vacation, I found others of the ſame nature; which if I myſelf ſhall not ſuffer to be loſt, it ſeemeth the world will not, by the often printing of the former. Miſſing my brother, I found you next; in reſpect of bond both of near alliance, and of ſtraight friendſhip and ſociety, and particularly of communication in ſtudies; wherein I muſt acknowledge myſelf beholding to you: for as my buſineſs found reſt in my contemplations, ſo my contemplations ever found reſt in your loving conference and judgment: ſo wiſhing you all good, I remain

Your loving brother and friend,

1612. FRA. BACON.

TO THE

Right Honourable my very good Lord

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,

His Grace Lord High Admiral of England.

EXCELLENT LORD,

SOLOMON ſays, "A good name is as a precious "ointment;" and I aſſure myſelf ſuch will your Grace's name be with poſterity: for your fortune and merit both have been eminent; and you have planted things that are like to laſt. I do now publiſh my Eſſays; which, of all my other works, have been moſt current: for that, as it ſeems, they come home to men's buſineſs and boſoms. I have enlarged them both in number and weight; ſo that they are indeed a new work: I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them both in engliſh and latin: for I do conceive, that the Latin volume of them, being in the univerſal language, may laſt as long as books laſt. My Inſtauration I dedicated to the king; my

hiſtory of Henry the ſeventh, which I have now tranſlated into Latin, and my portions of Natural Hiſtory, to the prince; and theſe I dedicate to your Grace, being of the beſt fruits, that, by the good increaſe which God gives to my pen and labours, I could yield. God lead your Grace by the hand.

Your Grace's moſt obliged

And faithful ſervant,

Fr. St. Alban.

BRITISH MUSEUM
30
61
MAR

ESSAYS

CIVIL AND MORAL.

OF TRUTH.

WHAT is truth? ſaid jeſting Pilate, and would not ſtay for an anſwer. Certainly there be that delight in giddineſs, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting: and, though the ſects of philoſophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain diſcourſing wits which are of the ſame veins, though there be not ſo much blood in them as was in thoſe of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again, that, when it is found, it impoſeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour;

but a natural, though corrupt love of the lie itſelf. One of the later ſchool of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a ſtand to think what ſhould be in it, that men ſhould love lies, where neither they make for pleaſure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the lie's ſake. But I cannot tell: this ſame truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not ſhew the maſques, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world half ſo ſtately and daintily as candlelights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that ſheweth beſt by day; but it will not riſe to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that ſheweth beſt in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleaſure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, falſe valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men, poor ſhrunken things, full of melancholy and indiſpoſition, and unpleaſing to themſelves? One of the fathers, in great ſeverity, called poeſy, "vinum "dæmonum," becauſe it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the ſhadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that paſſeth through the

mind, but the lie, that ſinketh in and ſettleth in it, that doth the hurt, ſuch as we ſpake of before. But howſoever theſe things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itſelf, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making, or wooing of it; the knowledge of truth, which is the preſence of it; and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the ſovereign good of human nature. The firſt creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the ſenſe; the laſt was the light of reaſon; and his ſabbath work, ever ſince, is the illumination of his Spirit. Firſt he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and ſtill he breatheth and inſpireth light into the face of his choſen. The poet that beautified the ſect, that was otherwiſe inferior to the reſt, ſaith yet excellently well, "It is a pleaſure to ſtand upon the ſhore, and to "ſee ſhips toſt upon the ſea: a pleaſure to ſtand "in the window of a caſtle, and to ſee a battle, "and the adventures thereof below: but no "pleaſure is comparable to the ſtanding upon "the vantage ground of truth (a hill not to be

" commanded, and where the air is always clear " and ſerene), and to ſee the errors and wan- " derings, and miſts, and tempeſts, in the vale " below:" ſo always that this proſpect be with pity, and not with ſwelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, reſt in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To paſs from theological and philoſophical truth to the truth of civil buſineſs, it will be acknowledged, even by thoſe that practiſe it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falſehood is like allay in coin of gold and ſilver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaſeth it: for theſe winding and crooked courſes are the goings of the ſerpent; which goeth baſely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth ſo cover a man with ſhame as to be found falſe and perfidious: and therefore Montaigne ſaith prettily, when he inquired the reaſon why the word of the lie ſhould be ſuch a diſgrace, and ſuch an odious charge, " If it be well weigh- " ed, to ſay that a man lieth, is as much as " to ſay that he is brave towards God, and a

"coward towards men: for a lie faces God, and "ſhrinks from man." Surely the wickedneſs of falſehood and breach of faith cannot poſſibly be ſo highly expreſſed as in that it ſhall be the laſt peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold, that when "Chriſt cometh," he ſhall not "find faith upon earth."

OF DEATH.

Men fear death as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increaſed with tales, ſo is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of ſin and paſſage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is ſometimes mixture of vanity and of ſuperſtition. You ſhall read in ſome of the friars books of mortification, that a man ſhould think with himſelf what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end preſſed, or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are when the whole body is corrupted

and diſſolved; when many times death paſſeth with leſs pain than the torture of a limb; for the moſt vital parts are not the quickeſt of ſenſe: and by him that spake only as a philoſopher and natural man, it was well ſaid, "Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipſa." Groans, and convulſions, and a diſcoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obſequies, and the like, ſhew death terrible. It is worthy the obſerving, that there is no paſſion in the mind of man ſo weak, but it mates and maſters the fear of death; and therefore death is no ſuch terrible enemy when a man hath ſo many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love ſlights it; honour aſpireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupieth it; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had ſlain himſelf, pity (which is the tendereſt of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compaſſion to their ſovereign, and as the trueſt ſort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceneſs and ſatiety; "Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; "mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miſer, ſed "etiam faſtidioſus poteſt." A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miſerable,

only upon a wearineſs to do the ſame thing ſo oft over and over. It is no leſs worthy to obſerve how little alteration in good ſpirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the ſame men till the laſt inſtant. Auguſtus Cæſar died in a compliment: "Livia, conjugii "noſtri memor, vive et vale:" Tiberius in diſſimulation, as Tacitus ſaith of him, "Jam Ti-"berium vires et corpus, non diſſimulatio, deſe-"rebant:" Veſpaſian in a jeſt, ſitting upon the ſtool, "Ut puto Deus fio:" Galba with a ſentence, "Feri, ſi ex re ſit populi Romani," holding forth his neck: Septimius Severus in diſpatch, "Adeſte, ſi quid mihi reſtat agendum," and the like. Certainly the Stoics beſtowed too much coſt upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, ſaith he, "qui finem vitæ extremum inter "munera ponat naturæ." It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earneſt purſuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, ſcarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon ſomewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of death: but, above all, be-

and diſſolved; when many times death paſſeth with leſs pain than the torture of a limb; for the moſt vital parts are not the quickeſt of ſenſe: and by him that ſpake only as a philoſopher and natural man, it was well ſaid, "Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipſa." Groans, and convulſions, and a diſcoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obſequies, and the like, ſhew death terrible. It is worthy the obſerving, that there is no paſſion in the mind of man ſo weak, but it mates and maſters the fear of death; and therefore death is no ſuch terrible enemy when a man hath ſo many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love ſlights it; honour aſpireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupieth it; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had ſlain himſelf, pity (which is the tendereſt of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compaſſion to their ſovereign, and as the trueſt ſort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceneſs and ſatiety; "Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; "mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miſer, ſed "etiam faſtidioſus poteſt." A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miſerable,

only upon a wearineſs to do the ſame thing ſo oft over and over. It is no leſs worthy to obſerve how little alteration in good ſpirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the ſame men till the laſt inſtant. Auguſtus Cæſar died in a compliment: "Livia, conjugii "noſtri memor, vive et vale:" Tiberius in diſſimulation, as Tacitus ſaith of him, "Jam Ti-"berium vires et corpus, non diſſimulatio, deſe-"rebant:" Veſpaſian in a jeſt, ſitting upon the ſtool, "Ut puto Deus fio:" Galba with a ſentence, "Feri, ſi ex re ſit populi Romani," holding forth his neck: Septimius Severus in diſpatch, "Adeſte, ſi quid mihi reſtat agendum," and the like. Certainly the Stoics beſtowed too much coſt upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, ſaith he, "qui finem vitæ extremum inter "munera ponat naturæ." It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earneſt purſuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, ſcarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon ſomewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of death: but, above all, be-

lieve it, the ſweeteſt canticle is, "Nunc dimit-
"tis," when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this alſo, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguiſheth envy, "Extinctus amabitur idem."

OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

Religion being the chief band of human ſociety, it is a happy thing when itſelf is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and diviſions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reaſon was, becauſe the religion of the heathen conſiſted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any conſtant belief: for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worſhip and religion will endure no mixture, nor partner. We ſhall therefore ſpeak a few words concerning the unity of the church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bounds; and what the means.

The fruits of unity (next unto the well-pleaſing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards thoſe that are without the church; the other towards thoſe that are within. For the former, it is certain, that hereſies and ſchiſms are of all others the greateſt ſcandals; yea more than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a wound or ſolution of continuity is worſe than a corrupt humour, ſo in the ſpiritual: ſo that nothing doth ſo much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity; and, therefore, whenſoever it cometh to that paſs that one ſaith, "ecce in deſerto," another ſaith, "ecce in penetralibus;" that is, when ſome men ſeek Chriſt in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to ſound in men's ears, "nolite exire," "go not out." The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whoſe vocation drew him to have a ſpecial care of thoſe without) ſaith, "If an heathen "come in, and hear you ſpeak with ſeveral "tongues, will he not ſay that you are mad?" and, certainly, it is little better: when atheiſts and profane perſons do hear of ſo many diſ-

cordant and contrary opinions in religion, it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them "to ſit down in the chair of the ſcorners." It is but a light thing to be vouched in ſo ſerious a matter, but yet it expreſſeth well the deformity. There is a maſter of ſcoffing that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library, ſets down this title of a book, "The morris-"dance of heretics:" for, indeed, every ſect of them hath a diverſe poſture or cringe by themſelves, which cannot but move deriſion in worldlings and depraved politics, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards thoſe that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite bleſſings: it eſtabliſheth faith; it kindleth charity: the outward peace of the church diſtilleth into peace of conſcience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controverſies into treaties of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bonds of unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes: for to certain zealots all ſpeech of pacification is odious. "Is it peace, Jehu?" "What haſt thou to do "with peace? turn thee behind me." Peace is

not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwiſe, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm perſons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both theſe extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Chriſtians, penned by our Saviour himſelf, were in the two croſs clauſes thereof ſoundly and plainly expounded: "He that is not with us is againſt "us;" and again, "He that is not againſt us "is with us;" that is, if the points fundamental, and of ſubſtance in religion, were truly diſcerned and diſtinguiſhed from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may ſeem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done leſs partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my ſmall model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controverſies; the one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too ſmall and light, not worth the heat and ſtrife about

it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the fathers, Chriſt's coat indeed had no ſeam, but the church's veſture was of divers colours; whereupon he ſaith, "in veſte varietas ſit, ſciſſura non ſit," they be two things, unity and uniformity: the other is when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great ſubtilty and obſcurity, ſo that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than ſubſtantial. A man that is of judgment and underſtanding ſhall ſometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himſelf, that thoſe which ſo differ mean one thing, and yet they themſelves would never agree: and if it come ſo to paſs in that diſtance of judgment which is between man and man, ſhall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not diſcern that frail men, in ſome of their contradictions, intend the ſame thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of ſuch controverſies is excellently expreſſed by St. Paul in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the ſame, "devita "profanas vocum novitates, et oppoſitiones "falſi nominis ſcientiæ." Men create oppoſitions which are not, and put them into new

terms ſo fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be alſo two falſe peaces, or unities; the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admiſſion of contraries in fundamental points: for truth and falſehood in ſuch things are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity, men muſt beware, that, in the procuring or muniting of religious unity, they do not diſſolve and deface the laws of charity and of human ſociety. There be two ſwords amongſt Chriſtians, the ſpiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion: but we may not take up the third ſword, which is Mahomet's ſword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by ſanguinary perſecutions to force conſciences; except it be in caſes of overt ſcandal, blaſphemy, or intermixture of practice againſt the ſtate; much leſs to nouriſh ſeditions; to

authorize conſpiracies and rebellions; to put the ſword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the ſubverſion of all government, which is the ordinance of God: for this is but to daſh the firſt table againſt the ſecond; and ſo to conſider men as Chriſtians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the ſacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed,

"Tantum relligio potuit ſuadere malorum."

What would he have ſaid if he had known of the maſſacre in France, or the powder treaſon of England? He would have been ſeven times more epicure and atheiſt than he was: for as the temporal ſword is to be drawn with great circumſpection in caſes of religion, ſo it is a thing monſtrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the anabaptiſts, and other furies. It was great blaſphemy when the devil ſaid, "I will aſ-"cend and be like the Higheſt;" but it is greater blaſphemy to perſonate God, and bring him in ſaying, "I will deſcend, and be like the "prince of darkneſs:" and what is it better

to make the cauſe of religion to deſcend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and ſubverſion of ſtates and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghoſt, inſtead of the likeneſs of a dove, in the ſhape of a vulture or raven; and to ſet out of the bark of a Chriſtian church a flag of a bark of pirates and aſſaſſins: therefore it is moſt neceſſary, that the church by doctrine and decree; princes by their ſword; and all learnings, both chriſtian and moral, as by their mercury rod do damn, and ſend to hell for ever thoſe facts and opinions tending to the ſupport of the ſame, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils concerning religion, that counſel of the Apoſtle would be prefixed, "Ira hominis non implet juſtitiam Dei:" and it was a notable obſervation of a wiſe father, and no leſs ingenuouſly confeſſed, that thoſe, which held and perſuaded preſſure of conſciences, were commonly intereſted therein themſelves for their own ends.

OF REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild juſtice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out: for as for the firſt wrong, it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly in taking revenge a man is but even with his enemy; but in paſſing it over he is ſuperior; for it is a prince's part to pardon: and Solomon, I am ſure, ſaith, "It is the "glory of a man to paſs by an offence." That which is paſt is gone and irrevocable, and wiſe men have enough to do with things preſent and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themſelves that labour in paſt matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's ſake, but thereby to purchaſe himſelf profit, or pleaſure, or honour, or the like; therefore why ſhould I be angry with a man for loving himſelf better than me? And if any man ſhould do wrong merely out of ill nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and ſcratch becauſe they can do no other. The moſt tolerable ſort of revenge is for thoſe

wrongs which there is no law to remedy: but, then, let a man take heed the revenge be ſuch as there is no law to puniſh, elſe a man's enemy is ſtill beforehand, and it is two for one. Some when they take revenge are deſirous the party ſhould know when it cometh: this is the more generous; for the delight ſeemeth to be not ſo much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent: but baſe and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Coſmus, duke of Florence, had a deſperate ſaying againſt perfidious or neglecting friends, as if thoſe wrongs were unpardonable. "You ſhall read," ſaith he, "that we are "commanded to forgive our enemies, but you "never read that we are commanded to forgive "our friends." But yet the ſpirit of Job was in a better tune: "Shall we," ſaith he, "take good "at God's hands, and not be content to take "evil alſo?" and ſo of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that ſtudieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwiſe would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the moſt part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæſar; for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the third of France; and

many more: but in private revenges it is not ſo; nay rather, vindicative perſons live the life of witches; who, as they are miſchievous, ſo end they unfortunate.

OF ADVERSITY.

It was an high ſpeech of Seneca, (after the manner of the Stoics), that the good things which belong to proſperity are to be wiſhed, but the good things that belong to adverſity are to be admired: "Bona rerum ſecundarum "optabilia, adverſarum mirabilia." Certainly if miracles be the command over nature, they appear moſt in adverſity. It is yet a higher ſpeech of his than the other, (much too high for a heathen), "It is true greatneſs to have in "one the frailty of a man, and the ſecurity of "a God:" "Vere magnum habere fragilitatem "hominis, ſecuritatem Dei." This would have done better in poeſy, where tranſcendencies are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been buſy with it: for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that ſtrange fiction of the ancients poets, which ſeemeth not to be with-

out myſtery, nay, and to have ſome approach to the ſtate of a Chriſtian, "that Hercules, "when he went to unbind Prometheus, (by "whom human nature is repreſented), ſailed "the length of the great ocean in an earthen "pot or pitcher, lively deſcribing Chriſtian re-"ſolution, that ſaileth in the frail bark of the "fleſh through the waves of the world." But to ſpeak in a mean, the virtue of proſperity is temperance; the virtue of adverſity is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Proſperity is the bleſſing of the Old Teſtament; adverſity is the bleſſing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Teſtament, if you liſten to David's harp, you ſhall hear as many herſe-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghoſt hath laboured more in deſcribing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Proſperity is not without many fears and diſtaſtes; and adverſity is not without comforts and hopes. We ſee in needleworks and embroideries it is more pleaſing to have a lively work upon a ſad and ſolemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon

a lightſome ground: judge therefore of the pleaſure of the heart by the pleaſure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, moſt fragrant when they are incenſed or cruſhed; for proſperity doth beſt diſcover vice, but adverſity doth beſt diſcover virtue.

OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

Dissimulation is but a faint kind of policy or wiſdom; for it aſketh a ſtrong wit and a ſtrong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it: therefore it is the weaker ſort of politicians that are the great diſſemblers.

Tacitus ſaith, "Livia ſorted well with the "arts of her huſband, and diſſimulation of her "ſon; attributing arts or policy to Auguſtus, "and diſſimulation to Tiberius:" and again, when Mucianus encourageth Veſpaſian to take arms againſt Vitellius, he ſaith, "We riſe not "againſt the piercing judgment of Auguſtus, "nor the extreme caution or cloſeneſs of Ti- "berius:" theſe properties of arts or policy,

and diſſimulation or cloſeneſs are indeed habits and faculties ſeveral, and to be diſtinguiſhed; for if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can diſcern what things are to be laid open, and what to be ſecreted, and what to be ſhewed at half lights, and to whom and when, (which indeed are arts of ſtate, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of diſſimulation is a hinderance and a poorneſs. But if a man cannot obtain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be cloſe and a diſſembler; for where a man cannot chooſe or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the ſafeſt and warieſt way in general, like the going ſoftly by one that cannot well ſee. Certainly the ableſt men that ever were have had all an openneſs and frankneſs of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity: but then they were like horſes well managed, for they could tell paſſing well when to ſtop or turn; and at ſuch times when they thought the caſe indeed required diſſimulation, if then they uſed it, it came to paſs, that the former opinion, ſpread abroad, of their good faith and clearneſs of dealing made them almoſt invi-ſible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's ſelf; the firſt, cloſeneſs, reſervation, and ſecrecy, when a man leaveth himſelf without obſervation, or without hold to be taken, what he is; the ſecond, diſſimulation in the negative, when a man lets fall ſigns and arguments, that he is not that he is; and the third, ſimulation in the affirmative, when a man induſtriouſly and expreſsly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the firſt of theſe, ſecrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confeſſor; and aſſuredly the ſecret man heareth many confeſſions, for who will open himſelf to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought ſecret, it inviteth diſcovery, as the more cloſe air ſucketh in the more open: and as in confeſſion the revealing is not for worldly uſe, but for the eaſe of a man's heart, ſo ſecret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather diſcharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, myſteries are due to ſecrecy. Beſides (to ſay truth) nakedneſs is uncomely, as well in mind as in body; and it addeth no ſmall reverence to men's manners and actions if they be not altogether open. As for talkers

and futile perſons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal: for he that talketh what he knoweth, will alſo talk what he knoweth not; therefore ſet it down, that an habit of ſecrecy is both politic and moral: and in this part it is good, that a man's face give his tongue leave to ſpeak; for the diſcovery of a man's ſelf by the tracts of his countenance is a great weakneſs and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the ſecond, which is diſſimulation, it followeth many times upon ſecrecy by a neceſſity; ſo that he that will be ſecret muſt be a diſſembler in ſome degree: for men are too cunning to ſuffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be ſecret without ſwaying the balance on either ſide. They will ſo beſet a man with queſtions and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an abſurd ſilence he muſt ſhew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his ſilence as by his ſpeech. As for equivocations or oraculous ſpeeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be ſecret, except he give himſelf a little ſcope of

diſſimulation, which is as it were but the ſkirts or train of ſecrecy.

But for the third degree, which is ſimulation and falſe profeſſion, that I hold more culpable and leſs politic, except it be in great and rare matters: and therefore a general cuſtom of ſimulation, (which is this laſt degree), is a vice riſing either of a natural falſeneſs or fearfulneſs, or of a mind that hath ſome main faults; which, becauſe a man muſt needs diſguiſe, it maketh him practiſe ſimulation in other things, leſt his hand ſhould be out of uſe.

The great advantages of ſimulation and diſſimulation are three: firſt, to lay aſleep oppoſition, and to ſurpriſe; for where a man's intentions are publiſhed, it is an alarm to call up all that are againſt them: the ſecond is to reſerve to a man's ſelf a fair retreat; for if a man engage himſelf by a manifeſt declaration, he muſt go through, or take a fall: the third is the better to diſcover the mind of another; for to him that opens himſelf men will hardly ſhew themſelves adverſe; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of ſpeech to freedom of thought; and therefore it is a

good ſhrewd proverb of the Spaniard, "Tell a "lie and find a troth;" as if there were no way of diſcovery but by ſimulation. There be alſo three diſadvantages to ſet it even; the firſt, that ſimulation and diſſimulation commonly carry with them a ſhew of fearfulneſs, which, in any buſineſs, doth ſpoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark; the ſecond, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many that perhaps would otherwiſe co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almoſt alone to his own ends; the third and greateſt is, that it depriveth a man of one of the moſt principal inſtruments for action, which is truſt and belief. The beſt compoſition and temperature is, to have openneſs in fame and opinion; ſecrecy in habit; diſſimulation in ſeaſonable uſe; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

The joys of parents are ſecret, and ſo are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children ſweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bit-

ter: they increaſe the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beaſts; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to men: and ſurely a man ſhall ſee the nobleſt works and foundations have proceeded from childleſs men, which have ſought to expreſs the images of their minds where thoſe of their bodies have failed; ſo the care of poſterity is moſt in them that have no poſterity. They that are the firſt raiſers of their houſes are moſt indulgent towards their children; beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind but, of their work; and ſo both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their ſeveral children is many times unequal, and ſometimes unworthy, eſpecially in the mother; as Solomon ſaith, "A wiſe "ſon rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious "ſon ſhames the mother." A man ſhall ſee, where there is a houſe full of children, one or two of the eldeſt reſpected, and the youngeſt made wantons; but in the midſt ſome that are as it were forgotten, who many times, nevertheleſs, prove the beſt. The ill liberality

of parents in allowance towards their children is an harmful error; makes them baſe; acquaints them with ſhifts; makes them ſort with mean company; and makes them ſurfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is beſt when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purſe. Men have a fooliſh manner, (both parents, and ſchoolmaſters, and ſervants), in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times ſorteth to diſcord when they are men, and diſturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews, or near kinsfolks; but ſo they be of the lump they care not, though they paſs not through their own body: and, to ſay truth, in nature it is much a like matter; inſomuch that we ſee a nephew ſometimes reſembleth an uncle or a kinſman more than his own parents, as the blood happens. Let parents chooſe betimes the vocations and courſes they mean their children ſhould take, for then they are moſt flexible; and let them not too much apply themſelves to the diſpoſition of their children, as thinking they will take beſt to

that which they have moſt mind to. It is true, that if the affection or aptneſs of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to croſs it; but generally the precept is good, "optimum elige, ſuave et facile illud faciet conſuetudo." Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but ſeldom or never where the elder are diſinherited.

OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

He that hath wife and children hath given hoſtages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprizes, either of virtue or miſchief. Certainly the beſt works, and of greateſt merit for the public have proceeded from the unmarried or childleſs men; which, both in affection and means, have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reaſon that thoſe that have children ſhould have greateſt care of future times, unto which they know they muſt tranſmit their deareſt pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a ſingle

life, yet their thoughts do end with themſelves, and account future times impertinences; nay, there are ſome other that account wife and children but as bills of charges; nay more, there are ſome fooliſh rich covetous men that take a pride in having no children, becauſe they may be thought ſo much the richer; for, perhaps, they have heard ſome talk, "Such an "one is a great rich man," and another except to it, "Yea, but he hath a great charge of chil-"dren," as if it were an abatement to his riches: but the moſt ordinary cauſe of a ſingle life is liberty, eſpecially in certain ſelf-pleaſing and humorous minds, which are ſo ſenſible of every reſtraint as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and ſhackles. Unmarried men are beſt friends, beſt maſters, beſt ſervants; but not always beſt ſubjects, for they are light to run away; and almoſt all fugitives are of that condition. A ſingle life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it muſt firſt fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magiſtrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you ſhall have a ſervant five times worſe than a wife. For ſoldiers, I find the generals com-

monly in their hortatives put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the deſpiſing of marriage among the Turks maketh the vulgar ſoldier more baſe. Certainly wife and children are a kind of diſcipline of humanity; and ſingle men, though they be many times more charitable becauſe their means are leſs exhauſt, yet, on the other ſide, they are more cruel and hardhearted, (good to make ſevere inquiſitors), becauſe their tenderneſs is not ſo oft called upon. Grave natures, led by cuſtom, and therefore conſtant, are commonly loving huſbands, as was said of Ulyſſes, "ve-"tulam ſuam prætulit immortalitati." Chaſte women are often proud and froward, as preſuming upon the merit of their chaſtity. It is one of the beſt bonds, both of chaſtity and obedience, in the wife, if ſhe think her huſband wiſe, which ſhe will never do if ſhe find him jealous. Wives are young men's miſtreſſes; companions for middle age, and old men's nurſes; ſo as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will: but yet he was reputed one of the wiſe men that made anſwer to the queſtion when a man ſhould marry, "A "young man not yet, an elder man not at all."

It is often ſeen that bad huſbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiſeth the price of their huſbands kindneſs when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience; but this never fails if the bad huſbands were of their own chooſing, againſt their friends conſent, for then they will be ſure to make good their own folly.

OF ENVY.

There be none of the affections which have been noted to faſcinate or bewitch, but love and envy: they both have vehement wiſhes; they frame themſelves readily into imaginations and ſuggeſtions; and they come eaſily into the eye, eſpecially upon the preſence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to faſcination, if any ſuch thing there be. We ſee, likewiſe, the ſcripture calleth envy an evil eye; and the aſtrologers call the evil influences of the ſtars evil aſpects; ſo that ſtill there ſeemeth to be acknowledged in the act of envy an ejaculation or irradiation of the eye: nay, ſome have been ſo curious as to

note, that the times, when the ſtroke or percuſſion of an envious eye doth moſt hurt, are when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that ſets an edge upon envy: and beſides, at ſuch times the ſpirits of the perſon envied do come forth moſt into the outward parts, and ſo meet the blow.

But leaving theſe curioſities, (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place), we will handle what perſons are apt to envy others; what perſons are moſt ſubject to be envied themſelves; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himſelf ever envieth virtue in others: for men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoſo is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will ſeek to come at even hand by depreſſing another's fortune.

A man that is buſy and inquiſitive is commonly envious; for to know much of other men's matters cannot be, becauſe all that ado may concern his own eſtate; therefore it muſt needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleaſure

in looking upon the fortunes of others; neither can he that mindeth but his own buſineſs find much matter for envy; for envy is a gadding paſſion, and walketh the ſtreets, and doth not keep home: "Non eſt curioſus, quin idem ſit "malevolus."

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they riſe; for the diſtance is altered, and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themſelves go back.

Deformed perſons and eunuchs, and old men and baſtards are envious; for he that cannot poſſibly mend his own caſe will do what he can to impair another's; except theſe defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour: in that it ſhould be ſaid, "That an "eunuch or a lame man did ſuch great matters;" affecting the honour of a miracle, as it was in Narſes the eunuch, and Ageſilaus and Tamberlane, that were lame men.

The ſame is the caſe of men that riſe after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own ſufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want work; it being impossible, but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets, and painters, and artificers in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because, when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy. First, persons of eminent virtue when they are advanced are less envied; for their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but

rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's ſelf; and where there is no compariſon, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheleſs it is to be noted, that unworthy perſons are moſt envied at their firſt coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas contrariwiſe, perſons of worth and merit are moſt envied when their fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their virtue be the ſame, yet it hath not the ſame luſtre, for freſh men grow up to darken it.

Perſons of noble blood are leſs envied in their riſing; for it ſeemeth but right done to their birth: beſides, there ſeemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the ſunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank or ſteep riſing ground, than upon a flat: and, for the ſame reaſon, thoſe that are advanced by degrees are leſs envied than thoſe that are advanced ſuddenly, and "per ſaltum."

Thoſe that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils are leſs ſubject to envy; for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them ſometimes; and pity ever healeth envy: wherefore you ſhall

obſerve, that the more deep and ſober ſort of politic perſons in their greatneſs are ever bemoaning themſelves what a life they lead, chanting a "quanta patimur;" not that they feel it ſo, but only to abate the edge of envy: but this is to be underſtood of buſineſs that is laid upon men, and not ſuch as they call unto themſelves; for nothing increaſeth envy more than an unneceſſary and ambitious ingroſſing of buſineſs; and nothing doth extinguiſh envy more than for a great perſon to preſerve all other inferior officers in their full rights and preeminences of their places; for by that means there be ſo many ſcreens between him and envy.

Above all, thoſe are moſt ſubject to envy which carry the greatneſs of their fortunes in an inſolent and proud manner; being never well but while they are ſhewing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all oppoſition or competition: whereas wiſe men will rather do ſacrifice to envy, in ſuffering themſelves ſometimes of purpoſe to be croſſed and overborn in things that do not much concern them. Notwithſtanding ſo much is true, that the carriage of greatneſs in a plain and

open manner, (ſo it be without arrogancy and vain glory,) doth draw leſs envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning faſhion; for in that courſe a man doth but diſavow fortune, and ſeemeth to be conſcious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Laſtly, to conclude this part, as we ſaid in the beginning that the act of envy had ſomewhat in it of witchcraft, ſo there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the lot, (as they call it), and to lay it upon another; for which purpoſe, the wiſer ſort of great perſons bring in ever upon the ſtage ſomebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themſelves; ſometimes upon miniſters and ſervants; ſometimes upon colleagues and aſſociates, and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting ſome perſons of violent and undertaking natures, who, ſo they may have power and buſineſs, will take it at any coſt.

Now to ſpeak of public envy: there is yet ſome good in public envy, whereas in private there is none; for public envy is as an oſtraciſm, that eclipſeth men when they grow too

great; and therefore it is a bridle alſo to great ones to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word "invidia," goeth in the modern languages by the name of diſcontentment; of which we ſhall ſpeak in handling ſedition. It is a diſeaſe in a ſtate like to infection: for as infection ſpreadeth upon that which is ſound and tainteth it; ſo when envy is gotten once into a ſtate it traduceth even the beſt actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour; and therefore there is little won by intermingling of plauſible actions: for that doth argue but a weakneſs and fear of envy, which hurteth ſo much the more, as it is likewiſe uſual in infections, which if you fear them you call them upon you.

This public envy ſeemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or miniſters, rather than upon kings and eſtates themſelves. But this is a ſure rule, that if the envy upon the miniſter be great when the cauſe of it in him is ſmall; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the miniſters of an eſtate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the ſtate itſelf. And ſo much of public envy or diſ-

contentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the firſt place.

We will add this in general touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections it is the moſt importune and continual; for of other affections there is occaſion given but now and then; and therefore it was well ſaid, "Invidia feſtos dies non agit:" for it is ever working upon ſome or other. And it is alſo noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, becauſe they are not ſo continual. It is alſo the vileſt affection, and the moſt depraved; for which cauſe it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called, "The envious man, that ſoweth tares amongſt "the wheat by night;" as it always cometh to paſs that envy worketh ſubtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, ſuch as is the wheat.

OF LOVE.

THE ſtage is more beholding to love than the life of man; for as to the ſtage, love is even matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much miſchief; ſometimes like a ſiren, ſometimes like a fury. You may obſerve, that amongſt all the great and worthy perſons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent,) there is not one that hath been tranſported to the mad degree of love; which ſhews that great ſpirits and great buſineſs do keep out this weak paſſion. You muſt except, nevertheleſs, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and lawgiver; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an auſtere and wiſe man: and therefore it ſeems, (though rarely,) that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but alſo into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor ſaying of Epicurus, "Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum "ſumus;" as if man, made for the contem-

plation of heaven and all noble objects, ſhould do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himſelf ſubject, though not of the mouth, (as beaſts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purpoſes. It is a ſtrange thing to note the exceſs of this paſſion, and how it braves the nature and value of things by this, that the ſpeaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love: neither is it merely in the phraſe; for whereas it hath been well ſaid, "That the arch flat-"terer, with whom all the petty flatterers have "intelligence, is a man's ſelf;" certainly the lover is more; for there was never proud man thought ſo abſurdly well of himſelf as the lover doth of the perſon loved; and therefore it was well ſaid, "That it is impoſſible to love "and to be wiſe." Neither doth this weakneſs appear to others only and not to the party loved, but to the loved moſt of all, except the love be reciprocal; for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded either with the reciprocal, or with an inward and ſecret contempt, by how much the more men ought to beware of this paſſion, which loſeth not only other things, but itſelf. As for the other loſſes, the

poet's relation doth well figure them; "That "he that preferred Helena quitted the gifts of "Juno and Pallas;" for whoſoever eſteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wiſdom. This paſſion hath its floods in the very times of weakneſs, which are, great proſperity, and great adverſity, though this latter hath been leſs obſerved; both which times kindle love and make it more fervent, and therefore ſhew it to be the child of folly. They do beſt, who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and ſever it wholly from their ſerious affairs and actions of life; for if it check once with buſineſs, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is, but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly aſk to be paid in pleaſures. There is in man's nature a ſecret inclination and motion towards love of others, which if it be not ſpent upon ſome one or a few, doth naturally ſpread itſelf towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is ſeen ſometime in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth

it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaſeth it.

OF GREAT PLACE.

Men in great place are thrice ſervants; ſervants of the ſovereign or ſtate, ſervants of fame, and ſervants of buſineſs; ſo as they have no freedom, neither in their perſons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a ſtrange deſire to ſeek power and to loſe liberty; or to ſeek power over others, and to loſe power over a man's ſelf. The riſing unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains; and it is ſometimes baſe, and by indignities men come to dignities. The ſtanding is ſlippery, and the regreſs is either a downfal, or at leaſt an eclipſe, which is a melancholy thing: "Cum non ſis qui fueris, "non eſſe cur velis vivere?" Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reaſon; but are impatient of privateneſs even in age and ſickneſs, which require the ſhadow; like old townſmen, that will be ſtill ſitting at their ſtreet door, though

thereby they offer age to ſcorn. Certainly great perſons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themſelves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themſelves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within: for they are the firſt that find their own griefs, though they be the laſt that find their own faults. Certainly, men in great fortunes are ſtrangers to themſelves, and while they are in the puzzle of buſineſs they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind: "Illi mors "gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, "ignotus moritur ſibi." In place there is licenſe to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curſe: for in evil the beſt condition is not to will; the ſecond not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aſpiring; for good thoughts, (though God accept them), yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit

and good works is the end of man's motion; and conſcience of the ſame is the accompliſhment of man's reſt: for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he ſhall likewiſe be partaker of God's reſt: "Et converſus Deus, "ut aſpiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus ſuæ, "vidit quod omnia eſſent bona nimis;" and then the ſabbath. In the diſcharge of thy place ſet before thee the beſt examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts; and after a time ſet before thee thine own example; and examine thyſelf ſtrictly whether thou didſt not beſt at firſt. Neglect not alſo the examples of thoſe that have carried themſelves ill in the ſame place; not to ſet off thyſelf by taxing their memory, but to direct thyſelf what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery or ſcandal of former times and perſons; but yet ſet it down to thyſelf, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the firſt inſtitution, and obſerve wherein and how they have degenerated: but yet aſk counſel of both times; of the ancient time what is beſt; and of the latter time what is fitteſt. Seek to make thy courſe regular, that men may know beforehand what they may

thereby they offer age to ſcorn. Certainly great perſons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themſelves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themſelves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within: for they are the firſt that find their own griefs, though they be the laſt that find their own faults. Certainly, men in great fortunes are ſtrangers to themſelves, and while they are in the puzzle of buſineſs they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind: "Illi mors "gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, "ignotus moritur ſibi." In place there is licenſe to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curſe: for in evil the beſt condition is not to will; the ſecond not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aſpiring; for good thoughts, (though God accept them), yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit

and good works is the end of man's motion; and conſcience of the ſame is the accompliſhment of man's reſt: for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he ſhall likewiſe be partaker of God's reſt: "Et converſus Deus, "ut aſpiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus ſuæ, "vidit quod omnia eſſent bona nimis;" and then the ſabbath. In the diſcharge of thy place ſet before thee the beſt examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts; and after a time ſet before thee thine own example; and examine thyſelf ſtrictly whether thou didſt not beſt at firſt. Neglect not alſo the examples of thoſe that have carried themſelves ill in the ſame place; not to ſet off thyſelf by taxing their memory, but to direct thyſelf what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery or ſcandal of former times and perſons; but yet ſet it down to thyſelf, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the firſt inſtitution, and obſerve wherein and how they have degenerated: but yet aſk counſel of both times; of the ancient time what is beſt; and of the latter time what is fitteſt. Seek to make thy courſe regular, that men may know beforehand what they may

expect: but be not too positive and peremptory; and expreſs thyſelf well when thou digreſſeſt from thy rule. Preſerve the right of thy place, but ſtir not queſtions of juriſdiction; and rather aſſume thy right in ſilence, and "de facto," than voice it with claims and challenges. Preſerve likewiſe the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct in chief, than to be buſy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away ſuch as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four; delays, corruption, roughneſs, and facility. For delays give eaſy acceſs; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not buſineſs but of neceſſity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands or thy ſervants hands from taking, but bind the hands of ſuitors alſo from offering; for integrity uſed doth the one; but integrity profeſſed, and with a manifeſt deteſtation of bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the fault, but the ſuſpicion. Whoſoever is found variable, and changeth manifeſtly with-

out manifeſt cauſe giveth ſuſpicion of corruption: therefore, always, when thou changeſt thine opinion or courſe, profeſs it plainly, and declare it, together with the reaſons that move thee to change, and do not think to ſteal it. A ſervant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cauſe of eſteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to cloſe corruption. For roughneſs, it is a needleſs cauſe of diſcontent; ſeverity breedeth fear, but roughneſs breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is worſe than bribery; for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle reſpects lead a man, he ſhall never be without; as Solomon ſaith, "To "reſpect perſons it is not good, for ſuch a man "will tranſgreſs for a piece of bread." It is moſt true that was anciently ſpoken, "A place "ſheweth the man; and it ſheweth ſome to "the better, and ſome to the worſe:" "omnium "conſenſu, capax imperii, niſi imperaſſet," ſaith Tacitus of Galba; but of Veſpaſian he ſaith, "ſolus imperantium, Veſpaſianus mu-"tatus in melius;" though the one was meant of ſufficiency, the other of manners and affec-

tion. It is an aſſured ſign of a worthy and generous ſpirit, whom honour amends; for honour is, or ſhould be the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, ſo virtue in ambition is violent, in authority ſettled and calm. All riſing to great place is by a winding ſtair; and if there be factions, it is good to ſide a man's ſelf whilſt he is in the riſing, and to balance himſelf when he is placed. Uſe the memory of thy predeceſſor fairly and tenderly; for if thou doſt not, it is a debt will ſure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, reſpect them; and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reaſon to look to be called. Be not too ſenſible or too remembering of thy place in converſation and private anſwers to ſuitors; but let it rather be ſaid, "When he ſits in place he is another "man."

OF BOLDNESS.

It is a trivial grammar ſchool text, but yet worthy a wiſe man's conſideration. Queſtion was aſked of Demoſthenes, what was the chief part of an orator? he anſwered, action: what next? action: what next again? action. He ſaid it that knew it beſt, and had by nature himſelf no advantage in that he commended. A ſtrange thing, that that part of an orator which is but ſuperficial, and rather the virtue of a player, ſhould be placed ſo high above thoſe other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the reſt; nay almoſt alone, as if it were all in all. But the reaſon is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wiſe; and therefore thoſe faculties by which the fooliſh part of men's minds is taken, are moſt potent. Wonderful like is the caſe of boldneſs in civil buſineſs; what firſt? boldneſs: what ſecond and third? boldneſs. And yet boldneſs is a child of ignorance and baſeneſs, far inferior to other parts: but, nevertheleſs, it doth faſcinate, and bind hand and foot thoſe that are either ſhallow in judgment

or weak in courage, which are the greateſt part; yea, and prevaileth with wiſe men at weak times: therefore we ſee it hath done wonders in popular ſtates, but with ſenates and princes leſs; and more ever upon the firſt entrance of bold perſons into action, than ſoon after; for boldneſs is an ill keeper of promiſe. Surely, as there are mountebanks for the natural body, ſo are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of ſcience, and therefore cannot hold out: nay, you ſhall ſee a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call an hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the obſervers of his law. The people aſſembled: Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill ſtood ſtill he was never a whit abaſhed, but ſaid, "If the hill will not come to "Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill." So theſe men, when they have promiſed great matters and failed moſt ſhamefully, yet, (if they have the perfection of boldneſs,) they will but ſlight it over, and make a turn, and no more

ado. Certainly to men of great judgment bold perſons are ſport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar alſo boldneſs hath ſomewhat of the ridiculous: for if abſurdity be the ſubject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldneſs is ſeldom without ſome abſurdity; eſpecially it is a ſport to ſee when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a moſt ſhrunken and wooden poſture, as needs it muſt: for in baſhfulneſs the ſpirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occaſion, they ſtand at a ſtay; like a ſtale at cheſs, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot ſtir: but this laſt were fitter for a ſatire, than for a ſerious obſervation. This is well to be weighed, that boldneſs is ever blind; for it ſeeth not dangers and inconveniences: therefore it is ill in counſel, good in execution; ſo that the right uſe of bold perſons is, that they never command in chief, but be ſeconds, and under the direction of others: for in counſel it is good to ſee dangers, and in execution not to ſee them, except they be very great.

OF GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I TAKE goodneſs in this ſenſe, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia; and the word humanity (as it is uſed) is a little too light to expreſs it. Goodneſs I call the habit, and goodneſs of nature the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greateſt, being the character of the Deity; and without it man is a buſy, miſchievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodneſs anſwers to the theological virtue charity, and admits no exceſs but error. The deſire of power in exceſs cauſed the angels to fall; the deſire of knowledge in exceſs cauſed man to fall: but in charity there is no exceſs, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodneſs is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; inſomuch, that if it iſſue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is ſeen in the Turks, a cruel people, who, nevertheleſs, are kind to

beaſts, and give alms to dogs and birds; inſo-much, as Buſbechius reporteth, a Chriſtian boy in Conſtantinople had like to have been ſtoned for gagging in a waggiſhneſs a long billed fowl. Errors, indeed, in this virtue of goodneſs or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, "Tanto "buon che val niente;" "So good, that he is "good for nothing:" and one of the doctors of Italy, Nicolas Macchiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almoſt in plain terms, "That "the Chriſtian faith had given up good men "in prey to thoſe that are tyrannical and un-"juſt;" which he ſpake, becauſe, indeed, there was never law, or ſect, or opinion did ſo much magnify goodneſs as the Chriſtian religion doth: therefore, to avoid the ſcandal, and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habit ſo excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or ſoftneſs, which taketh an honeſt mind priſoner. Neither give thou Æſop's cock a gem, who would be better pleaſed and happier if he had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the leſſon truly; "He ſendeth his

" rain, and maketh his ſun to ſhine upon the " juſt and unjuſt;" but he doth not rain wealth, nor ſhine honour and virtues upon men equally: common benefits are to be communicated with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portrait thou breakeſt the pattern: for divinity maketh the love of ourſelves the pattern; the love of our neighbours but the portraiture: " Sell all thou " haſt, and give it to the poor, and follow " me:" but ſell not all thou haſt, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayeſt do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwiſe, in feeding the ſtreams thou drieſt the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodneſs directed by right reaſon; but there is in ſome men, even in nature, a diſpoſition towards it; as, on the other ſide, there is a natural malignity: for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter ſort of malignity turneth but to a croſſneſs, or frowardneſs, or aptneſs to oppoſe, or difficilneſs, or the like; but the deeper ſort to envy, and mere miſchief. Such men, in other men's calamities, are, as it were,

in ſeaſon, and are ever on the loading part: not ſo good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' ſores, but like flies that are ſtill buzzing upon any thing that is raw; miſanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpoſe in their gardens, as Timon had: ſuch diſpoſitions are the very errors of human nature, and yet they are the fitteſt timber to make great politics of; like to knee timber that is good for ſhips that are ordained to be toſſed, but not for building houſes that ſhall ſtand firm. The parts and ſigns of goodneſs are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to ſtrangers, it ſhews he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no iſland cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them: if he be compaſſionate towards the afflictions of others, it ſhews that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itſelf when it gives the balm: if he eaſily pardons and remits offences, it ſhews that his mind is planted above injuries, ſo that he cannot be ſhot: if he be thankful for ſmall benefits, it ſhews that he weighs men's minds, and not their traſh: but, above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he

would wiſh to be an anathema from Chriſt, for the ſalvation of his brethren, it ſhews much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Chriſt himſelf.

OF A KING.

1. A KING is a mortal god on earth, unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour; but withal told him, he ſhould die like a man, leſt he ſhould be proud, and flatter himſelf that God hath with his name imparted unto him his nature alſo.

2. Of all kind of men God is the leaſt beholding unto them; for he doth moſt for them, and they do ordinarily leaſt for him.

3. A king that would not feel his crown too heavy for him, muſt wear it every day; but if he think it too light, he knoweth not of what metal it is made.

4. He muſt make religion the rule of government, and not to balance the ſcale; for he that caſteth in religion only to make the ſcales even, his own weight is contained in thoſe cha-

racters, " Mene mene, tekel upharſin," " He is " found too light, his kingdom ſhall be taken " from him."

5. And that king that holds not religion the beſt reaſon of ſtate, is void of all piety and juſtice, the ſupporters of a king.

6. He muſt be able to give counſel himſelf, but not rely thereupon; for though happy events juſtify their counſels, yet it is better that the evil event of good advice be rather imputed to a ſubject than a ſovereign.

7. He is the fountain of honour, which ſhould not run with a waſte pipe, leſt the courtiers ſell the water, and then, (as papiſts ſay of their holy wells,) it loſes the virtue.

8. He is the life of the law, not only as he is " lex loquens " himſelf, but becauſe he animateth the dead letter, making it active towards all his ſubjects, " præmio et pœna."

9. A wiſe king muſt do leſs in altering his laws than he may; for new government is ever dangerous; it being true in the body politic, as in the corporal, that " omnis ſubita immutatio " eſt periculoſa:" and though it be for the better, yet it is not without a fearful apprehenſion; for he that changeth the fundamental laws of a

kingdom thinketh there is no good title to a crown but by conqueſt.

10. A king that ſetteth to ſale ſeats of juſtice oppreſſeth the people; for he teacheth his judges to ſell juſtice; and "precio parata precio vendi-"tur juſtitia."

11. Bounty and magnificence are virtues very regal, but a prodigal king is nearer a tyrant than a parſimonious; for ſtore at home draweth not his contemplations abroad; but want ſupplieth itſelf of what is next, and many times the next way: a king herein muſt be wiſe, and know what he may juſtly do.

12. That king which is not feared is not loved; and he that is well ſeen in his craft muſt as well ſtudy to be feared as loved; yet not loved for fear, but feared for love.

13. Therefore, as he muſt always reſemble him whoſe great name he beareth, and that as in manifeſting the ſweet influence of his mercy on the ſevere ſtroke of his juſtice ſometimes, ſo in this not to ſuffer a man of death to live; for, beſides that the land doth mourn, the reſtraint of juſtice towards ſin doth more retard the affection of love than the extent of mercy doth

enflame it; and ſure where love is [ill] beſtowed, fear is quite loſt.

14. His greateſt enemies are his flatterers; for though they ever ſpeak on his ſide, yet their words ſtill make againſt him.

15. The love which a king oweth to a weal public ſhould not be reſtrained to any one particular; yet that his more ſpecial favour do reflect upon ſome worthy ones is ſomewhat neceſſary, becauſe there are few of that capacity.

16. He muſt have a ſpecial care of five things, if he would not have his crown to be but to him "infelix felicitas:"

firſt, that "ſimulata ſanctitas" be not in the church; for that is "duplex iniquitas:"

ſecondly, that "inutilis æquitas" ſit not in the chancery; for that is "inepta miſeri-"cordia:"

thirdly, that "utilis iniquitas" keep not the exchequer; for that is "crudele latro-"cinium:"

fourthly, that "fidelis temeritas" be not his general; for that will bring but "ſeram "pœnitentiam:"

fifthly, that "infidelis prudentia" be not

his ſecretary; for that is "anguis ſub viridi "herba."

To conclude; as he is of the greateſt power, ſo he is ſubject to the greateſt cares, made the ſervant of his people, or elſe he were without a calling at all.

He then that honoureth him not is next an atheiſt, wanting the fear of God in his heart.

OF NOBILITY.

We will ſpeak of nobility firſt as a portion of an eſtate, then as a condition of particular perſons. A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and abſolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers ſovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people ſomewhat aſide from the line royal: but for democracies they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet, and leſs ſubject to ſedition, than where there are ſtirps of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the buſineſs, and not upon the perſons; or, if upon the perſons, it is for the buſineſs ſake, as fitteſt, and not for

flags and pedigree. We ſee the Switzers laſt well, notwithſtanding their diverſity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not reſpects. The united provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the conſultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majeſty to a monarch, but diminiſheth power; and putteth life and ſpirit into the people, but preſſeth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for ſovereignty nor for juſtice; and yet maintained in that height, as the inſolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too faſt upon the majeſty of kings. A numerous nobility cauſeth poverty and inconvenience in a ſtate, for it is a ſurcharge of expenſe; and beſides, it being of neceſſity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of diſproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular perſons, it is a reverend thing to ſee an ancient caſtle or building not in decay, or to ſee a fair timber tree ſound and perfect; how much more to

behold an ancient noble family, which hath ſtood againſt the waves and weathers of time? for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Thoſe that are firſt raiſed to nobility, are commonly more virtuous, but leſs innocent, than their deſcendants; for there is rarely any riſing but by a commixture of good and evil arts: but it is reaſon the memory of their virtues remain to their poſterity, and their faults die with themſelves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth induſtry; and he that is not induſtrious envieth him that is: beſides, noble perſons cannot go much higher; and he that ſtandeth at a ſtay when others riſe, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other ſide, nobility extinguiſheth the paſſive envy from others towards them, becauſe they are in poſſeſſion of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility ſhall find eaſe in employing them, and a better ſlide into their buſineſs; for people naturally bend to them as born in ſome ſort to command.

OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

Shepherds of people had need know the calendars of tempeſts in ſtate, which are commonly greateſt when things grow to equality; as natural tempeſts are greateſt about the equinoctia: and as there are certain hollow blaſts of wind and ſecret ſwellings of ſeas before a tempeſt, ſo are there in ſtates:

——— "Ille etiam cæcos inſtare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudeſque et operta tumuſcere bella."

Libels and licentious diſcourſes againſt the ſtate, when they are frequent and open; and in like ſort falſe news often running up and down to the diſadvantage of the ſtate, and haſtily embraced, are amongſt the ſigns of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of fame, ſaith ſhe was ſiſter to the giants;

"Illam terra parens, ira irritata deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque ſororem
Progenuit."———Æneid. IV. 177.

As if fames were the relics of ſeditions paſt; but they are no leſs indeed the preludes of

ſeditions to come. Howſoever he noteth it right, that ſeditious tumults, and ſeditious fames differ no more but as brother and ſiſter, maſculine and feminine; eſpecially if it come to that, that the beſt actions of a ſtate, and the moſt plauſible, and which ought to give greateſt contentment, are taken in ill ſenſe and traduced; for that ſhews the envy great, as Tacitus ſaith, "conflata magna invidia, ſeu bene, "ſeu male, geſta premunt." Neither doth it follow, that becauſe theſe fames are a ſign of troubles, that the ſuppreſſing of them with too much ſeverity ſhould be a remedy of troubles; for the deſpiſing of them many times checks them beſt, and the going about to ſtop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Alſo that kind of obedience which Tacitus ſpeaketh of is to be held ſuſpected; "Erant in officio, ſed "tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium in- "terpretari, quam exequi;" diſputing, excuſing, cavilling upon mandates and directions is a kind of ſhaking off the yoke and aſſay of diſobedience; eſpecially if in thoſe diſputings they which are for the direction ſpeak fearfully and tenderly, and thoſe that are againſt it audaciouſly.

Alſo, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themſelves as a party and lean to a ſide, it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one ſide: as was well ſeen in the time of Henry the third of France; for firſt himſelf entered league for the extirpation of the proteſtants, and preſently after the ſame league was turned upon himſelf: for when the authority of princes is made but an acceſſary to a cauſe, and that there be other bands that tie faſter than the band of ſovereignty, kings begin to be put almoſt out of poſſeſſion.

Alſo, when diſcords, and quarrels, and factions are carried openly and audaciouſly, it is a ſign the reverence of government is loſt; for the motions of the greateſt perſons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under "primum mobile," (according to the old opinion,) which is, that every of them is carried ſwiftly by the higheſt motion, and ſoftly in their own motion; and, therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus expreſſeth it well, "liberius "quam ut imperantium meminiſſent," it is a

ſign the orbs are out of frame; for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the diſſolving thereof; "ſolvam "cingula regum."

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly ſhaken, or weakened, (which are religion, juſtice, counſel, and treaſure,) men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us paſs from this part of predictions, (concerning which, nevertheleſs, more light may be taken from that which followeth,) and let us ſpeak firſt of the materials of ſeditions, then of the motives of them, and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the materials of ſedition, it is a thing well to be conſidered; for the ſureſt way to prevent ſeditions, (if the times do bear it,) is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the ſpark ſhall come that ſhall ſet it on fire. The matter of ſeditions is of two kinds, much poverty and much diſcontentment. It is certain, ſo many overthrown eſtates, ſo many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the ſtate of Rome before the civil war,

"Hinc uſura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
"Hinc concuſſa fides, et multis utile bellum."

This ſame, "multis utile bellum," is an aſſured and infallible ſign of a ſtate diſpoſed to ſeditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken eſtate in the better ſort be joined with a want and neceſſity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great; for the rebellions of the belly are the worſt. As for diſcontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to enflame; and let no prince meaſure the danger of them by this, whether they be juſt or unjuſt; for that were to imagine people to be too reaſonable, who do often ſpurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they riſe, be in fact great or ſmall; for they are the moſt dangerous diſcontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: "Dolendi modus, timendi "non item:" beſides, in great oppreſſions, the ſame things that provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not ſo: neither let any prince or ſtate be ſecure concerning diſcontentments becauſe they have been often, or have been long, and yet no

peril hath enſued; for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a ſtorm, ſo it is nevertheleſs true, that ſtorms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at laſt; and as the Spaniſh proverb noteth well, "The cord breaketh at the laſt by the weakeſt "pull."

The cauſes and motives of ſeditions are innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and cuſtoms, breaking of privileges, general oppreſſion, advancement of unworthy perſons, ſtrangers, dearths, diſbanded ſoldiers, factions grown deſperate; and whatſoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cauſe.

For the remedies there may be ſome general preſervatives, whereof we will ſpeak: as for the juſt cure, it muſt anſwer to the particular diſeaſe; and ſo be left to counſel rather than rule.

The firſt remedy or prevention is to remove by all means poſſible that material cauſe of ſedition whereof we ſpeak, which is want and poverty in the eſtate; to which purpoſe ſerveth the opening and well balancing of trade; the cheriſhing of manufactures; the baniſhing of

idleneſs; the repreſſing of waſte and exceſs by ſumptuary laws; the improvement and huſbanding of the ſoil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally it is to be foreſeen that the population of a kingdom, (eſpecially if it be not mown down by wars,) do not exceed the ſtock of the kingdom which ſhould maintain them: neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a ſmaller number that ſpend more and earn leſs, do wear out an eſtate ſooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more: therefore the multiplying of nobility and other degrees of quality, in an over-proportion to the common people, doth ſpeedily bring a ſtate to neceſſity; and ſo doth likewiſe an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the ſtock; and in like manner when more are bred ſcholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewiſe to be remembered, that, foraſmuch as the increaſe of any eſtate muſt be upon the foreigner, (for whatſoever is ſomewhere gotten is ſomewhere loſt,) there be but three things which one nation ſelleth unto another; the commodity as nature yieldeth it; the

manufacture; and the vecture or carriage: ſo that if theſe two wheels go, wealth will flow as in a ſpring tide: and it cometh many times to paſs, that "materiam ſuperabit opus," that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a ſtate more: as is notably ſeen in the Low Country men, who have the beſt mines above ground in the world.

Above all things good policy is to be uſed, that the treaſure and monies in a ſtate be not gathered into few hands; for, otherwiſe, a ſtate may have a great ſtock and yet ſtarve: and money is like muck, not good except it be ſpread. This is done chiefly by ſuppreſſing, or, at the leaſt, keeping a ſtrait hand upon the devouring trades of uſury, ingroſſing, great paſturages, and the like.

For removing diſcontentments, or, at leaſt, the danger of them, there is in every ſtate, (as we know,) two portions of ſubjects, the nobles and the commonalty. When one of theſe is diſcontent the danger is not great; for common people are of ſlow motion if they be not excited by the greater ſort; and the greater ſort are of ſmall ſtrength, except the multitude

be apt and ready to move of themſelves: then is the danger when the greater ſort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongſt the meaner, that then they may declare themſelves. The poets feign that the reſt of the gods would have bound Jupiter, which he hearing of by the counſel of Pallas, ſent for Briareus with his hundred hands to come in to his aid: an emblem, no doubt, to ſhew how ſafe it is for monarchs to make ſure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and diſcontentments to evaporate, (ſo it be without too great inſolency or bravery,) is a ſafe way; for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious impoſthumations.

The part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus in the caſe of diſcontentments, for there is not a better proviſion againſt them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at laſt ſhut the lid, and kept hope in the bottom of the veſſel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nouriſhing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes

to hopes is one of the beſt antidotes againſt the poiſon of diſcontentments: and it is a certain ſign of a wiſe government and proceeding when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by ſatisfaction; and when it can handle things in ſuch manner as no evil ſhall appear ſo peremptory, but that it hath ſome outlet of hope; which is the leſs hard to do, becauſe both particular perſons and factions are apt enough to flatter themſelves, or, at leaſt, to brave that which they believe not.

Alſo the foreſight and prevention that there be no likely or fit head whereunto diſcontented perſons may reſort, and under whom they may join, is a known but an excellent point of caution. I underſtand a fit head to be one that hath greatneſs and reputation, that hath confidence with the diſcontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought diſcontented in his own particular; which kind of perſons are either to be won and reconciled to the ſtate, and that in a faſt and true manner; or to be fronted with ſome other of the ſame party that may oppoſe them, and ſo divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing

and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverſe to the ſtate, and ſetting them at diſtance, or, at leaſt, diſtruſt among themſelves is not one of the worſt remedies; for it is a deſperate caſe, if thoſe that hold with the proceeding of the ſtate be full of diſcord and faction, and thoſe that are againſt it be entire and united.

I have noted that ſome witty and ſharp ſpeeches which have fallen from princes, have given fire to ſeditions. Cæſar did himſelf infinite hurt in that ſpeech, "Sylla neſcivit "literas, non potuit dictare;" for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorſhip. Galba undid himſelf by that ſpeech, "legi a ſe militem, non "emi;" for it put the ſoldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewiſe, by that ſpeech, "ſi vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano "imperio militibus;" a ſpeech of great deſpair for the ſoldiers, and many the like. Surely, princes had need in tender matter and tickliſh times to beware what they ſay, eſpecially in theſe ſhort ſpeeches which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be ſhot out of

their ſecret intentions; for as for large diſcourſes, they are flat things, and not ſo much noted.

Laſtly, let princes againſt all events, not be without ſome great perſon, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repreſſing of ſeditions in their beginnings; for without that there uſeth to be more trepidation in court upon the firſt breaking out of troubles, than were fit; and the ſtate runneth the danger of that which Tacitus ſaith, "atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut peſſimum "facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes "paterentur:" but let ſuch military perſons be aſſured and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding alſo good correſpondence with the other great men in the ſtate, or elſe the remedy is worſe than the diſeaſe.

OF ATHEISM.

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran than that this univerſal frame is without a mind: and, therefore, God never wrought miracle to convince atheiſm, becauſe his ordinary works convince it. It is true that a little philoſophy inclineth man's mind to atheiſm; but depth in philoſophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon ſecond cauſes ſcattered, it may ſometimes reſt in them and go no farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it muſt needs fly to providence and Deity: nay, even that ſchool which is moſt accuſed of atheiſm, doth moſt demonſtrate religion; that is, the ſchool of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus: for it is a thouſand times more credible, that four mutable elements and one immutable fifth eſſence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite ſmall portions, or ſeeds unplaced, ſhould have produced this order and beauty without a divine marſhal.

The ſcripture ſaith, "The fool hath ſaid in "his heart, there is no God:" it is not ſaid, "The fool hath thought in his heart;" ſo as he rather ſaith it by rote to himſelf, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be perſuaded of it; for none deny there is a God, but thoſe for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheiſm is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this, that atheiſts will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themſelves, and would be glad to be ſtrengthened by the conſent of others: nay more, you ſhall have atheiſts ſtrive to get diſciples, as it fareth with other ſects; and, which is moſt of all, you ſhall have of them that will ſuffer for atheiſm, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no ſuch thing as God, why ſhould they trouble themſelves? Epicurus is charged, that he did but diſſemble for his credit's ſake when he affirmed there were bleſſed natures, but ſuch as enjoyed themſelves without having reſpect to the government of the world; wherein they ſay he did temporize, though in ſecret he thought there was

no God: but certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine; " Non Deos vulgi " negare profanum; ſed vulgi opiniones diis " applicare profanum." Plato could have ſaid no more; and, although he had the confidence to deny the adminiſtration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the weſt have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God; as if the heathens ſhould have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. but not the word Deus; which ſhews, that even thoſe barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it: ſo that againſt atheiſts the very ſavages take part with the very ſubtileſt philoſophers. The contemplative atheiſt is rare, a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and ſome others; and yet they ſeem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion or ſuperſtition, are by the adverſe part branded with the name of atheiſts: but the great atheiſts indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; ſo as they muſt needs be cauterized in the end. The cauſes of atheiſm are, diviſions in religion, if they be many;

for any one main diviſion addeth zeal to both ſides, but many diviſions introduce atheiſm: another is, ſcandal of prieſts, when it is come to that which S. Bernard ſaith, "non eſt jam "dicere, ut populus, ſic ſacerdos; quia nec ſic "populus, ut ſacerdos:" a third is, a cuſtom of profane ſcoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and, laſtly, learned times, eſpecially with peace and proſperity; for troubles and adverſities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God deſtroy man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beaſts by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his ſpirit, he is a baſe and ignoble creature. It deſtroys likewiſe magnanimity, and the raiſing of human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generoſity and courage he will put on when he finds himſelf maintained by a man, who to him is inſtead of a God, or "melior natura;" which courage is manifeſtly ſuch as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he reſteth and aſſureth himſelf upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force

and faith which human nature in itſelf could not obtain; therefore, as atheiſm is in all reſpects hateful, ſo in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itſelf above human frailty. As it is in particular perſons, ſo it is in nations: never was there ſuch a ſtate for magnanimity as Rome; of this ſtate hear what Cicero ſaith, "Quam volu-" mus, licet, patres conſcripti, nos amemus, " tamen nec numero Hiſpanos, nec robore Gal-" los, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græ-" cos, nec denique hoc ipſo hujus gentis et " terræ domeſtico nativoque ſenſu Italos ipſos " et Latinos; ſed pietate, ac religione, atque " hac una ſapientia, quod deorum immorta-" lium numine omnia regi, gubernarique per-" ſpeximus, omnes gentes nationeſque ſuperavi-" mus."

OF SUPERSTITION.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than ſuch an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly ſuperſtition is the re-

proach of the Deity. Plutarch ſaith well to that purpoſe; "Surely," ſaith he, "I had ra-"ther a great deal men ſhould ſay there was "no ſuch man at all as Plutarch, than that "they ſhould ſay that there was one Plutarch, "that would eat his children as ſoon as they "were born;" as the poets ſpeak of Saturn: and, as the contumely is greater towards God, ſo the danger is greater towards men. Atheiſm leaves a man to ſenſe, to philoſophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but ſuperſtition diſmounts all theſe, and erecteth an abſolute monarchy in the minds of men: therefore atheiſm did never perturb ſtates; for it makes men wary of themſelves, as looking no farther, and we ſee the times inclined to atheiſm, (as the time of Auguſtus Cæſar,) were civil times: but ſuperſtition hath been the confuſion of many ſtates, and bringeth in a new "primum mo-"bile," that raviſheth all the ſpheres of government. The maſter of ſuperſtition is the people, and in all ſuperſtition wiſe men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice in a reverſed order. It was gravely ſaid by ſome

of the prelates in the council of Trent, where the doctrine of the ſchoolmen bare great ſway, that the ſchoolmen were like aſtronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and ſuch engines of orbs to ſave the phænomena, though they knew there were no ſuch things; and in like manner, that the ſchoolmen had framed a number of ſubtile and intricate axioms and theorems, to ſave the practice of the church. The cauſes of ſuperſtition are pleaſing and ſenſual rites and ceremonies; exceſs of outward and phariſaical holineſs; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the church; the ſtratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations; and, laſtly, barbarous times, eſpecially joined with calamities and diſaſters. Superſtition without a vail is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be ſo like a man, ſo the ſimilitude of ſuperſtition to religion makes it the more deformed: and, as wholeſome meat corrupteth to little worms, ſo good forms and orders corrupt

into a number of petty obſervances. There is a ſuperſtition in avoiding ſuperſtition, when men think to do beſt if they go fartheſt from the ſuperſtition formerly received; therefore care ſhould be had that, (as it fareth in ill purgings,) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

OF TRAVEL.

Travel in the younger ſort is a part of education; in the elder a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath ſome entrance into the language, goeth to ſchool, and not to travel. That young men travel under ſome tutor, or grave ſervant, I allow well; ſo that he be ſuch a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be ſeen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to ſeek, what exerciſes or diſcipline the place yieldeth; for elſe young men ſhall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a ſtrange

thing, that in ſea voyages, where there is nothing to be ſeen but ſky and ſea, men ſhould make diaries; but in land travel, wherein ſo much is to be obſerved, for the moſt part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be regiſtered than obſervation: let diaries, therefore, be brought in uſe. The things to be ſeen and obſerved are the courts of princes, eſpecially when they give audience to ambaſſadors; the courts of juſtice while they ſit and hear cauſes; and ſo of conſiſtories eccleſiaſtic; the churches and monaſteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; and ſo the havens and harbours, antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, diſputations, and lectures where any are; ſhipping and navies; houſes and gardens of ſtate and pleaſure near great cities; armories, arſenals, magazines, exchanges, burſes, warehouſes, exerciſes of horſemanſhip, fencing, training of ſoldiers, and the like; comedies, ſuch whereunto the better ſort of perſons do reſort; treaſuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and to conclude, whatſoever is memorable in the places where they go; after all which the tutors or ſervants ought to make

diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, maſks, feaſts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and ſuch ſhews, men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in ſhort time to gather much, this you muſt do: firſt, as was ſaid, he muſt have ſome entrance into the language before he goeth; then he muſt have ſuch a ſervant, or tutor as knoweth the country, as was likewiſe ſaid: let him carry with him alſo ſome card or book deſcribing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry; let him keep alſo a diary; let him not ſtay long in one city or town, more or leſs as the place deſerveth, but not long; nay, when he ſtayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance; let him ſequeſter himſelf from the company of his countrymen, and diet in ſuch places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth; let him upon his removes from one place to another procure recommendation to ſome perſon of quality reſiding in the place whither

he removeth, that he may uſe his favour in thoſe things he deſireth to ſee or know: thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be ſought in travel, that which is moſt of all profitable is acquaintance with the ſecretaries and employed men of ambaſſadors; for ſo in travelling in one country he ſhall ſuck the experience of many: let him alſo ſee and viſit eminent perſons in all kinds which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame; for quarrels, they are with care and diſcretion to be avoided; they are commonly for miſtreſſes, healths, place, and words: and let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelſome perſons; for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him; but maintain a correſpondence by letters with thoſe of his acquaintance which are of moſt worth; and let his travel appear rather in his diſcourſe, than in his apparel or geſture; and in his diſcourſe let him be rather adviſed in his anſwers, than forward to tell ſtories:

and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for thoſe of foreign parts; but only prick in ſome flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the cuſtoms of his own country.

OF EMPIRE.

It is a miſerable ſtate of mind to have few things to deſire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the caſe of kings, who being at the higheſt, want matter of deſire, which makes their minds more languiſhing; and have many repreſentations of perils and ſhadows, which make their minds the leſs clear: and this is one reaſon alſo of that effect which the ſcripture ſpeaketh of, "That "the king's heart is inſcrutable;" for multitude of jealouſies, and lack of ſome predominant deſire, that ſhould marſhal and put in order all the reſt, maketh any man's heart hard to find or ſound. Hence it comes likewiſe, that princes many times make themſelves deſires, and ſet their hearts upon toys; ſometimes upon a building; ſometimes upon

erecting of an order; ſometimes upon the advancing of a perſon; ſometimes upon obtaining excellency in ſome art, or feat of the hand; as Nero for playing on the harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow; Commodus for playing at fence; Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This ſeemeth incredible unto thoſe that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreſhed by profiting in ſmall things, than by ſtanding at a ſtay in great. We ſee alſo that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their firſt years, it being not poſſible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they muſt have ſome check or arreſt in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be ſuperſtitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great, Dioclefian, and in our memory Charles the Fifth, and others; for he that is uſed to go forward, and findeth a ſtop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To ſpeak now of the true temper of empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and diſtemper conſiſt of contraries: but it is one thing to mingle con-

traries, another to interchange them. The anſwer of Apollonius to Veſpaſian is full of excellent inſtruction. Veſpaſian aſked him, what was Nero's overthrow? he anſwered, Nero could touch and tune the harp well, but in government ſometimes he uſed to wind the pins too high, ſometimes to let them down too low; and certain it is, that nothing deſtroyeth authority ſo much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power preſſed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wiſdom of all theſe latter times in princes' affairs, is rather fine deliveries, and ſhiftings of dangers and miſchiefs, when they are near, than ſolid and grounded courſes to keep them aloof: but this is but to try maſteries with fortune; and let men beware how they neglect and ſuffer matter of trouble to be prepared; for no man can forbid the ſpark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' buſineſs are many and great; but the greateſt difficulty is often in their own mind; for it is common with princes, (ſaith Tacitus,) to will contradictories; "Sunt plerumque regum vo-
"luntates vehementes, et inter ſe contrariæ;"

for it is the ſoleciſm of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the means.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their ſecond nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all theſe ariſe dangers, if care and circumſpection be not uſed.

Firſt, for their neighbours there can no general rule be given, (the occaſions are ſo variable,) ſave one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due centinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow ſo, (by increaſe of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like,) as they become more able to annoy them than they were; and this is generally the work of ſtanding counſels to foreſee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, king Henry the eighth of England, Francis the firſt, king of France, and Charles the fifth emperor, there was ſuch a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would ſtraightways balance it, either by confederation,

or, if need were, by a war; and would not in any wiſe take up peace at intereſt: and the like was done by that league, (which, Guicciardine ſaith, was the ſecurity of Italy,) made between Ferdinando, king of Naples, Lorenzius Medices, and Ludovicus Sforſa, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of ſome of the ſchoolmen to be received, that a war cannot juſtly be made, but upon a precedent injury or prevocation; for there is no queſtion, but a juſt fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cauſe of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poiſoning of her huſband; Roxolana, Solyman's wife, was the deſtruction of that renowned prince, Sultan Muſtapha, and otherwiſe troubled his houſe and ſucceſſion; Edward the ſecond of England's queen had the principal hand in the depoſing and murder of her huſband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raiſing of their own children, or elſe that they be advoutreſſes.

For their children, the tragedies likewiſe of dangers from them have been many; and generally the entering of fathers into ſuſpicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The deſtruction of Muſtapha, (that we named before,) was ſo fatal to Solyman's line, as the ſucceſſion of the Turks from Solyman until this day is ſuſpected to be untrue, and of ſtrange blood; for that Selymus the ſecond was thought to be ſuppoſititious. The deſtruction of Criſpus, a young prince of rare towardneſs, by Conſtantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his houſe, for both Conſtantinus and Conſtance, his ſons, died violent deaths; and Conſtantius, his other ſon, did little better, who died indeed of ſickneſs, but after that Julianus had taken arms againſt him. The deſtruction of Demetrius, ſon to Philip the ſecond of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance: and many like examples there are, but few or none where the fathers had good by ſuch diſtruſt, except it were where the ſons were up in open arms againſt them; as was Selymas the firſt againſt Bajazet, and the three ſons of Henry the ſecond king of England.

For their prelates, when they are proud and great there is alſo danger from them; as it was in the times of Anſelmus and Thomas Beckett, archbiſhops of Canterbury, who with their croſiers did almoſt try it with the king's ſword; and yet they had to deal with ſtout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry the firſt, and Henry the ſecond. The danger is not from that ſtate, but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in, and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles, to keep them at a diſtance it is not amiſs; but to depreſs them may make a king more abſolute, but leſs ſafe, and leſs able to perform any thing that he deſires. I have noted it in my hiſtory of king Henry the ſeventh of England, who depreſſed his nobility, whereupon it came to paſs that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his buſineſs; ſo that in effect he was fain to do all things himſelf.

For their ſecond nobles, there is not much

danger from them, being a body diſperſed: they may ſometimes diſcourſe high, but that doth little hurt; beſides, they are a counterpoiſe to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, laſtly, being the moſt immediate in authority with the common people, they do beſt temper popular commotions.

For their merchants, they are "vena porta;" and if they flouriſh not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nouriſh little. Taxes and impoſts upon them do ſeldom good to the king's revenue, for that that he wins in the hundred, he loſeth in the ſhire; the particular rates being increaſed, but the total bulk of trading rather decreaſed.

For their commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their cuſtoms, or means of life.

For their men of war, it is a dangerous ſtate where they live and remain in a body, and are uſed to donatives, whereof we ſee examples in the janizaries and pretorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in ſeveral

places, and under ſeveral commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cauſe good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no reſt. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in thoſe two remembrances, "memento quod es homo;" and "memento quod es Deus, or vice Dei;" the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

OF COUNSEL.

The greateſt truſt between man and man is the truſt of giving counſel; for in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, ſome particular affair; but to ſuch as they make their counſellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wiſeſt princes need not think it any diminution to their greatneſs, or derogation to their ſufficiency, to rely upon counſel. God himſelf is not without,

but hath made it one of the great names of his bleſſed Son, "The Counſellor." Solomon hath pronounced that, "in counſel is ſta-"bility." Things will have their firſt or ſecond agitation: if they be not toſſed upon the arguments of counſel, they will be toſſed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconſtancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's ſon found the force of counſel, as his father ſaw the neceſſity of it; for the beloved kingdom of God was firſt rent and broken by ill counſel; upon which counſel there are ſet for our inſtruction the two marks whereby bad counſel is for ever beſt diſcerned, that it was young counſel for the perſons, and violent counſel for the matter.

The ancient times do ſet forth in figure both the incorporation and inſeparable conjunction of counſel with kings, and the wiſe and politic uſe of counſel by kings: the one, in that they ſay Jupiter did marry Metis, which ſignifieth counſel; whereby they intend that ſovereignty is married to counſel; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: they ſay, after Jupiter was married to

Metis, ſhe conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter ſuffered her not to ſtay till ſhe brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himſelf with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed out of his head. Which monſtrous fable containeth a ſecret of empire, how kings are to make uſe of their council of ſtate: that firſt, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the firſt begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and ſhaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they ſuffer not their council to go through with the reſolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions, (which, becauſe they come forth with prudence and power, are reſembled to Pallas armed,) proceeded from themſelves; and not only from their authority, but, (the more to add reputation to themſelves,) from their head and device.

Let us now ſpeak of the inconveniences of counſel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and uſing

counſel, are three: firſt, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become leſs ſecret: ſecondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were leſs of themſelves: thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counſelled, and more for the good of them that counſel, than of him that is counſelled; for which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France in ſome kings times, hath introduced cabinet councils; a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe.

As to ſecrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counſellors, but may extract and ſelect; neither is it neceſſary, that he, that conſulteth what he ſhould do, ſhould declare what he will do; but let princes beware that the unſecreting of their affairs comes not from themſelves: and, as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto, "plenus rimarum ſum:" one futile perſon, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be ſome affairs which require extreme ſecrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two perſons beſides the king: neither are thoſe counſels unproſperous; for,

beſides the ſecrecy, they commonly go on conſtantly in one ſpirit of direction without diſtraction: but then it muſt be a prudent king, ſuch as is able to grind with a hand-mill; and thoſe inward counſellors had need alſo be wiſe men, and eſpecially true and truſty to the king's ends; as it was with king Henry the ſeventh of England, who in his greateſt buſineſs imparted himſelf to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority the fable ſheweth the remedy: nay, the majeſty of kings is rather exalted than diminiſhed when they are in the chair of council; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependances by his council, except where there hath been either an over-greatneſs in one counſellor, or an over-ſtrict combination in divers, which are things ſoon found and holpen.

For the laſt inconvenience, that men will counſel with an eye to themſelves; certainly, "non inveniet fidem ſuper terram," is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular perſons. There be that are in nature faithful and ſincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved: let princes, above all, draw to

themſelves ſuch natures. Beſides, counſellors are not commonly ſo united, but that one counſellor keepeth centinel over another; ſo that if any do counſel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear: but the beſt remedy is, if princes know their counſellors, as well as their counſellors know them;

"Principis eſt virtus maxima noſſe ſuos."

And, on the other ſide, counſellors ſhould not be too ſpeculative into their ſovereign's perſon. The true compoſition of a counſellor is, rather to be ſkilful in their maſter's buſineſs, than in his nature; for then he is like to adviſe him, and not to feed his humour. It is of ſingular uſe to princes if they take the opinions of their council both ſeparately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private men are more bold in their own humours, and in conſort men are more obnoxious to others humours; therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior ſort, rather in private, to preſerve freedom; of the greater, rather in conſort, to preſerve reſpect. It is in vain for princes to

take counſel concerning matters, if they take no counſel likewiſe concerning perſons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs reſteth in the good choice of perſons: neither is it enough to conſult concerning perſons, "ſecundum genera," as in an idea or mathematical deſcription, what the kind and character of the perſon ſhould be; for the greateſt errors are committed, and the moſt judgment is ſhewn, in the choice of individuals. It was truly ſaid, "optimi conſiliarii mortui;" "books will ſpeak plain when "counſellors blanch;" therefore it is good to be converſant in them, ſpecially the books of ſuch as themſelves have been actors upon the ſtage.

The councils at this day in moſt places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run too ſwift to the order or act of council. It were better that in cauſes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not ſpoken to till the next day; "in nocte conſilium:" ſo was it done in the commiſſion of union between Scotland and England, which was a grave and orderly aſſembly. I com-

mend ſet days for petitions; for both it gives the ſuitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of eſtate, that they may "hoc agere." In choice of committees for ripening buſineſs for the council, it is better to chooſe indifferent perſons, than to make an indifferency by putting in thoſe that are ſtrong on both ſides. I commend alſo ſtanding commiſſions; as for trade, for treaſure, for war, for ſuits, for ſome provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of ſtate, (as it is in Spain,) they are, in effect, no more than ſtanding commiſſions, ſave that they have greater authority. Let ſuch as are to inform councils out of their particular profeſſions, (as lawyers, ſeamen, mintmen, and the like,) be firſt heard before committees; and then, as occaſion ſerves, before the council; and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a ſquare table, or ſeats about the walls ſeem things of form, but are things of ſubſtance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, ſway all the buſineſs; but in the other

form there is more uſe of the counſellors' opinions that ſit lower. A king, when he preſides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for elſe counſellors will but take the wind of him, and inſtead of giving free counſel, will ſing him a ſong of "placebo."

OF DELAYS.

Fortune is like the market, where many times, if you can ſtay a little, the price will fall; and again, it is ſometimes like Sibylla's offer, which at firſt offereth the commodity at full, then conſumeth part and part, and ſtill holdeth up the price; for occaſion, (as it is in the common verſe,) turneth a bald noddle after ſhe hath preſented her locks in front, and no hold taken; or, at leaſt, turneth the handle of the bottle firſt to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to claſp. There is ſurely no greater wiſdom than well to time the beginnings and onſets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once ſeem light; and more

dangers have deceived men than forced them: nay, it were better to meet ſome dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall aſleep. On the other ſide, to be deceived with too long ſhadows, (as ſome have been when the moon was low and ſhone on their enemies back,) and ſo to ſhoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by over-early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeneſs or unripeneſs of the occaſion, (as we ſaid,) muſt ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argos with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; firſt to watch, and then to ſpeed: for the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go inviſible, is ſecrecy in the council, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once come to the execution, there is no ſecrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth ſo ſwift as it outruns the eye.

OF CUNNING.

We take cunning for a ſiniſter or crooked wiſdom; and, certainly, there is great difference between a cunning man and a wiſe man, not only in point of honeſty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; ſo there are ſome that are good in canvaſſes and factions, that are otherwiſe weak men. Again, it is one thing to underſtand perſons, and another thing to underſtand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours that are not greatly capable of the real part of buſineſs, which is the conſtitution of one that hath ſtudied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counſel, and they are good but in their own ally: turn them to new men, and they have loſt their aim; ſo as the old rule to know a fool from a wiſe man, "Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et "videbis," doth ſcarce hold for them; and, becauſe theſe cunning men are like haberdaſhers of ſmall wares, it is not amiſs to ſet forth their ſhop.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you ſpeak with your eye, as the Jeſuits give it in precept; for there be many wiſe men that have ſecret hearts and tranſparent countenances: yet this would be done with a demure abaſing of your eye ſometimes, as the Jeſuits alſo do uſe.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of preſent diſpatch, you entertain and amuſe the party with whom you deal with ſome other diſcourſe, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counſellor and ſecretary that never came to queen Elizabeth of England with bills to ſign, but he would always firſt put her into ſome diſcourſe of eſtate, that ſhe might the leſs mind the bills.

The like ſurpriſe may be made by moving things when the party is in haſte, and cannot ſtay to conſider adviſedly of that is moved.

If a man would croſs a buſineſs that he doubts ſome other would handſomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wiſh it well, and move it himſelf in ſuch ſort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midſt of that one

was about to ſay, as if he took himſelf up, breeds a greater appetite in him, with whom you confer, to know more.

And becauſe it works better when any thing ſeemeth to be gotten from you by queſtion, than if you offer it of yourſelf, you may lay a bait for a queſtion by ſhewing another viſage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occaſion for the party to aſk what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah did, "And "I had not before that time been ſad before the "king."

In things that are tender and unpleaſing it is good to break the ice by ſome whoſe words are of leſs weight, and to reſerve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, ſo that he may be aſked the queſtion upon the other's ſpeech; as Narciſſus did in relating to Claudius the marriage of Meſſalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be ſeen in himſelf, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to ſay, "The world ſays," or, "There is a ſpeech abroad."

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was moſt material in the poſtſcript, as if it had been a bye matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have ſpeech, he would paſs over that that he intended moſt; and go forth, and come back again, and ſpeak of it as of a thing that he had almoſt forgot.

Some procure themſelves to be ſurpriſed at ſuch times as it is like the party, that they work upon, will ſuddenly come upon them, and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing ſomewhat which they are not accuſtomed, to the end they may be appoſed of thoſe things which of themſelves they are deſirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning to let fall thoſe words in a man's own name which he would have another man learn and uſe, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the ſecretary's place in queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themſelves, and would confer one with another upon the buſineſs; and the one of them ſaid, that to be a ſecretary in the declination of a monarchy was a tickliſh thing, and that he did not affect it: the other ſtraight caught up thoſe words, and diſcourſed with divers of his friends, that he had no reaſon to

deſire to be ſecretary in the declination of a monarchy. The firſt man took hold of it, and found means it was told the queen; who, hearing of a declination of a monarchy, took it ſo ill, as ſhe would never after hear of the other's ſuit.

There is a cunning which we in England call "The turning of the cat in the pan;" which is, when that which a man ſays to another, he lays it as if another had ſaid it to him; and to ſay truth, it is not eaſy, when ſuch a matter paſſed between two, to make it appear from which of them it firſt moved and began.

It is a way that ſome men have to glance and dart at others by juſtifying themſelves by negatives; as to ſay, "This I do not;" as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, "ſe non diverſas "ſpes, ſed incolumitatem imperatoris ſimplici-"ter ſpectare."

Some have in readineſs ſo many tales and ſtories, as there is nothing they would inſinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which ſerveth both to keep themſelves more on guard, and to make others carry it with more pleaſure.

It is a good point of cunning for a man to

ſhape the anſwer he would have in his own words and propoſitions; for it makes the other party ſtick the leſs.

It is ſtrange how long ſome men will lie in wait to ſpeak ſomewhat they deſire to ſay; and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it: it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much uſe.

A ſudden, bold, and unexpected queſtion doth many times ſurpriſe a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's, another ſuddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat ſtraightways he looked back.

But theſe ſmall wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a liſt of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a ſtate than that cunning men paſs for wiſe.

But certainly ſome there are that know the reſorts and falls of buſineſs, that cannot ſink into the main of it; like a houſe that hath convenient ſtairs and entries, but never a fair room: therefore you ſhall ſee them find out pretty looſes in the concluſion, but are no ways

able to examine or debate matters; and yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abuſing of others, and, (as we now ſay,) putting tricks upon them, than upon ſoundneſs of their own proceedings: but Solomon ſaith, "Prudens advertit ad greſſus ſuos: ſtultus divertit ad dolos."

OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

An ant is a wiſe creature for itſelf, but it is a ſhrewd thing in an orchard or garden; and, certainly, men that are great lovers of themſelves waſte the public. Divide with reaſon between ſelf-love and ſociety; and be ſo true to thyſelf, as thou be not falſe to others, eſpecially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himſelf. It is right earth; for that only ſtands faſt upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another which they benefit. The referring of

all to a man's ſelf, is more tolerable in a ſovereign prince, becauſe themſelves are not only themſelves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune: but it is a deſperate evil in a ſervant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatſoever affairs paſs ſuch a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends; which muſt needs be often eccentric to the ends of his maſter or ſtate: therefore let princes or ſtates chooſe ſuch ſervants as have not this mark; except they mean their ſervice ſhould be made but the acceſſary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is loſt; it were diſproportion enough for the ſervant's good, to be preferred before the maſter's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the ſervant ſhall carry things againſt a great good of the maſter's: and yet that is the caſe of bad officers, treaſurers, ambaſſadors, generals, and other falſe and corrupt ſervants; which ſet a bias upon their bowl of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their maſters great and important affairs: and for the moſt part, the good ſuch ſervants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they ſell

for that good is after the model of their maſters fortune: and certainly it is the nature of extreme ſelf-lovers, as they will ſet an houſe on fire, and it were but to roaſt their eggs; and yet theſe men many times hold credit with their maſters, becauſe their ſtudy is but to pleaſe them, and profit themſelves; and for either reſpect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wiſdom for a man's ſelf is in many branches thereof a depraved thing: it is the wiſdom of rats, that will be ſure to leave a houſe ſomewhat before it fall: it is the wiſdom of the fox, that thruſts out the badger, who digged and made room for him: it is the wiſdom of crocodiles, that ſhed tears when they would devour. But that which is ſpecially to be noted is, that thoſe which, (as Cicero ſays of Pompey,) are, "ſui amantes ſine rivali," are many times unfortunate: and whereas they have all their time ſacrificed to themſelves, they become in the end themſelves ſacrifices to the inconſtancy of fortune, whoſe wings they thought by their ſelf-wiſdom to have pinioned.

OF INNOVATIONS.

As the births of living creatures at firſt are ill ſhapen, ſo are all innovations, which are the births of time; yet, notwithſtanding, as thoſe that firſt bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than moſt that ſucceed, ſo the firſt precedent, (if it be good,) is ſeldom attained by imitation; for ill, to man's nature as it ſtands perverted, hath a natural motion ſtrongeſt in continuance; but good, as a forced motion, ſtrongeſt at firſt. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies muſt expect new evils; for time is the greateſt innovator: and if time of courſe alter things to the worſe, and wiſdom and counſel ſhall not alter them to the better, what ſhall be the end? It is true, that what is ſettled by cuſtom, though it be not good, yet at leaſt it is fit: and thoſe things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themſelves; whereas new things piece not ſo well; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity: beſides, they are like ſtrangers, more admired, and leſs

favoured. All this is true if time ſtood ſtill; which contrariwiſe moveth ſo round, that a froward retention of cuſtom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times are but a ſcorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itſelf, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees ſcarce to be perceived; for otherwiſe, whatſoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends ſome, and pairs others: and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good alſo not to try experiments in ſtates, except the neceſſity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the deſire of change that pretendeth the reformation; and, laſtly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a ſuſpect; and, as the ſcripture ſaith, "That we make a ſtand upon the ancient way, "and then look about us, and diſcover what is "the ſtraight and right way, and ſo to walk "in it."

OF DISPATCH.

Affected diſpatch is one of the moſt dangerous things to buſineſs that can be: it is like that which the phyſicians call predigeſtion, or haſty digeſtion; which is ſure to fill the body full of crudities, and ſecrete ſeeds of diſeaſes: therefore meaſure not diſpatch by the times of ſitting, but by the advancement of the buſineſs: and as, in races, it is not the large ſtride, or high lift, that makes the ſpeed; ſo, in buſineſs, the keeping cloſe to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth diſpatch. It is the care of ſome only to come off ſpeedily for the time, or to contrive ſome falſe periods of buſineſs, becauſe they may ſeem men of diſpatch: but it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and buſineſs ſo handled at ſeveral ſittings or meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unſteady manner. I knew a wiſe man that had it for a by-word, when he ſaw men haſten to a concluſion, "Stay a little, that we may make an "end the ſooner."

On the other ſide, true diſpatch is a rich thing; for time is the meaſure of buſineſs, as money is of wares; and buſineſs is bought at a dear hand where there is ſmall diſpatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of ſmall diſpatch, "Mi venga la muerte de "Spagna;" "Let my death come from Spain;" for then it will be ſure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to thoſe that give the firſt information in buſineſs, and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their ſpeeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own courſe: but ſometimes it is ſeen, that the moderator is more troubleſome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loſs of time: but there is no ſuch gain of time as to iterate often the ſtate of the queſtion; for it chaſeth away many a frivolous ſpeech as it is coming forth. Long and curious ſpeeches are as fit for diſpatch as a robe or mantle with a long train is for race. Prefaces, and paſſages, and excuſations, and other ſpeeches of reference to the perſon

are great waſtes of time; and though they ſeem to proceed of modeſty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment or obſtruction in men's wills; for preoccupation of mind ever requireth preface of ſpeech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order, and diſtribution, and ſingling out of parts is the life of diſpatch; ſo as the diſtribution be not too ſubtile: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into buſineſs; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To chooſe time is to ſave time; and an unſeaſonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of buſineſs, the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection; whereof, if you look for diſpatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the firſt and laſt the work of few. The proceeding upon ſomewhat conceived in writing doth for the moſt part facilitate diſpatch; for though it ſhould be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as aſhes are more generative than duſt.

OF SEEMING WISE.

It hath been an opinion that the French are wiſer than they ſeem, and the Spaniards ſeem wiſer than they are: but howſoever it be between nations, certainly it is ſo between man and man; for as the apoſtle ſaith of godlineſs, "Having a ſhew of godlineſs, but denying the "power thereof;" ſo certainly there are in points of wiſdom and ſufficiency, that do nothing or little very ſolemnly; "magno conatu "nugas." It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a ſatire to perſons of judgment, to ſee what ſhifts theſe formaliſts have, and what proſpectives to make ſuperficies to ſeem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are ſo cloſe and reſerved as they will not ſhew their wares but by a dark light, and ſeem always to keep back ſomewhat; and when they know within themſelves they ſpeak of that they do not well know, would nevertheleſs ſeem to others to know of that which they may not well ſpeak. Some help themſelves with countenance and geſture, and are wiſe by ſigns; as Cicero ſaith

of Piſo, that when he anſwered him, he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; "reſpondes, al-"tero ad frontem ſublato, altero ad mentum "depreſſo ſupercilio, crudelitatem tibi non "placere." Some think to bear it by ſpeaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatſoever is beyond their reach, will ſeem to deſpiſe or make light of it as impertinent or curious; and ſo would have their ignorance ſeem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amuſing men with a ſubtilty, blanch the matter; of whom A. Gellius ſaith, "ho-"minem delirum, qui verborum minutiis re-"rum frangit pondera." Of which kind alſo Plato in his Protagoras bringeth in Prodicus in ſcorn, and maketh him make a ſpeech that conſiſteth of diſtinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally ſuch men in all deliberations find eaſe to be of the negative ſide, and affect a credit to object, and foretell difficulties: for when propoſitions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which falſe point

of wiſdom is the bane of buſineſs. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar, hath ſo many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth as theſe empty perſons have to maintain the credit of their ſufficiency. Seeming wiſe men may make ſhift to get opinion; but let no man chooſe them for employment; for, certainly, you were better take for buſineſs a man ſomewhat abſurd, than over-formal.

OF FRIENDSHIP.

It had been hard for him that ſpake it, to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that ſpeech, "Whoſoever "is delighted in ſolitude is either a wild beaſt "or a god;" for it is moſt true, that a natural and ſecret hatred and averſaſion towards ſociety in any man, hath ſomewhat of the ſavage beaſt; but it is moſt untrue, that it ſhould have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleaſure in ſolitude, but out of a love and deſire to ſequeſter a man's ſelf for a higher converſation: ſuch as

is found to have been falſely and feignedly in ſome of the heathen; as Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits, and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what ſolitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little; "magna civitas, "magna ſolitudo;" becauſe in a great town friends are ſcattered, ſo that there is not that fellowſhip, for the moſt part, which is in leſs neighbourhoods: but we may go farther, and affirm moſt truly, that it is a mere and miſerable ſolitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderneſs; and even in this ſenſe alſo of ſolitude, whoſoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendſhip, he taketh it of the beaſt, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendſhip is the eaſe and diſcharge of the fulneſs of the heart, which paſſions of all kinds do cauſe and induce. We know diſeaſes of ſtoppings and

ſuffocations are the moſt dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwiſe in the mind: you may take ſarza to open the liver, ſteel to open the ſpleen, flower of ſulphur for the lungs, caſtoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, ſuſpicions, counſels, and whatſoever lieth upon the heart to oppreſs it, in a kind of civil ſhrift or confeſſion.

It is a ſtrange thing to obſerve how high a rate great kings and monarchs do ſet upon this fruit of friendſhip whereof we ſpeak; ſo great as they purchaſe it many times at the hazard of their own ſafety and greatneſs: for princes, in regard of the diſtance of their fortune from that of their ſubjects and ſervants, cannot gather this fruit, except, (to make themſelves capable thereof,) they raiſe ſome perſons to be as it were companions and almoſt equals to themſelves, which many times ſorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto ſuch perſons the name of favourites, or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace or converſation; but the Roman name attaineth the true uſe and cauſe thereof, naming them

"participes curarum;" for it is that which tieth the knot: and we ſee plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and paſſionate princes only, but by the wiſeſt and moſt politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themſelves ſome of their ſervants, whom both themſelves have called friends, and allowed others likewiſe to call them in the ſame manner, uſing the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raiſed Pompey, (after ſurnamed the great,) to that height, that Pompey vaunted himſelf for Sylla's over-match; for when he had carried the conſulſhip for a friend of his againſt the purſuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little reſent thereat, and began to ſpeak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; for that more men adored the ſun riſing than the ſun ſetting. With Julius Cæſar Decimus Brutus had obtained that intereſt as he ſet him down in his teſtament for heir in remainder after his nephew; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death; for when Cæſar would have diſcharged the ſenate in regard of ſome

ill preſages, and ſpecially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not diſmiſs the ſenate till his wife had dreamed a better dream; and it ſeemeth his favour was ſo great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, called him "venefica," "witch;" as if he had enchanted Cæſar. Auguſtus raiſed Agrippa, (though of mean birth,) to that height, as, when he conſulted with Mecænas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mecænas took the liberty to tell him, that he muſt either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life; there was no third way, he had made him ſo great. With Tiberius Cæſar Sejanus had aſcended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him ſaith, "hæc pro amicitia noſtra non occultavi;" and the whole ſenate dedicated an altar to friendſhip, as to a goddeſs, in reſpect of the great dearneſs of friendſhip between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus; for he forced his eldest ſon to marry the daughter of Plautianus,

and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his ſon: and did write alſo in a letter to the ſenate by theſe words, "I love "the man ſo well, as I wiſh he may over-live "me." Now, if theſe princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodneſs of nature; but being men ſo wiſe, of ſuch ſtrength and ſeverity of mind, and ſo extreme lovers of themſelves, as all theſe were, it proveth moſt plainly that they found their own felicity, (though as great as ever happened to mortal men,) but as an half piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, ſons, nephews; and yet all theſe could not ſupply the comfort of friendſhip.

It is not to be forgotten what Commineus obſerveth of his first maſter, duke Charles the Hardy, namely, that he would communicate his ſecrets with none; and leaſt of all, thoſe ſecrets which troubled him moſt. Whereupon he goeth on, and ſaith, that towards his latter time that cloſeneſs did impair and a little periſh his underſtanding. Surely Commineus

might have made the ſame judgment alſo, if it had pleaſed him, of his ſecond maſter, Lewis the eleventh, whoſe cloſeneſs was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true; "cor ne edito," "eat not the heart." Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phraſe, thoſe that want friends to open themſelves unto, are cannibals of their own hearts: but one thing is moſt admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this firſt fruit of friendſhip,) which is, that this communicating of a man's ſelf to his friend works two contrary effects, for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halfs; for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; ſo no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the leſs. So that, it is in truth, of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymiſts uſe to attribute to their ſtone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but ſtill to the good and benefit of nature: but yet, without praying in aid of alchymiſts, there is a manifeſt image of this in the ordinary courſe of nature; for in bodies union ſtrengtheneth and cheriſheth any natural action; and, on the other ſide, weakeneth

and dulleth any violent impreſſion; and even ſo is it of minds.

The ſecond fruit of friendſhip is healthful and ſovereign for the underſtanding as the firſt is for the affections; for friendſhip maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from ſtorm and tempeſts, but it maketh daylight in the underſtanding out of darkneſs and confuſion of thoughts: neither is this to be underſtood only of faithful counſel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whoſoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and underſtanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and diſcourſing with another; he toſſeth his thoughts more eaſily; he marſhalleth them more orderly; he ſeeth how they look when they are turned into words; finally, he waxeth wiſer than himſelf; and that more by an hour's diſcourſe than by a day's meditation. It was well ſaid by Themiſtocles to the King of Perſia, "That ſpeech "was like cloth of Arras, opened and put "abroad:" whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs. Neither is this ſecond fruit of friend-

ſhip in opening the underſtanding, reſtrained only to ſuch friends as are able to give a man counſel, (they indeed are beſt,) but even without that a man learneth of himſelf, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as againſt a ſtone which itſelf cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himſelf to a ſtatue or picture, than to ſuffer his thoughts to paſs in ſmother.

Add now, to make this ſecond fruit of friendſhip complete, that other point which lieth more open and falleth within vulgar obſervation; which is faithful counſel from a friend. Heraclitus ſaith well in one of his enigmas, "Dry light is ever the beſt:" and certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counſel from another is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own underſtanding and judgment; which is ever infuſed and drenched in his affections and cuſtoms. So as there is as much difference between the counſel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himſelf, as there is between the counſel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no ſuch flatterer as is a man's ſelf, and there is no ſuch remedy againſt flattery of a man's ſelf as the

liberty of a friend. Counſel is of two ſorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning buſineſs: for the firſt, the beſt preſervative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's ſelf to a ſtrict account is a medicine ſometime too piercing and corroſive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; obſerving our faults in others is ſometimes improper for our caſe; but the beſt receipt, (beſt I ſay to work, and beſt to take,) is the admonition of a friend. It is a ſtrange thing to behold what groſs errors and extreme abſurdities many, (eſpecially of the greater ſort,) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune; for, as St. James ſaith, they are as men "that look ſometimes into "a glaſs and preſently forget their own ſhape "and favour:" as for buſineſs, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes ſee no more than one; or, that a gameſter ſeeth always more than a looker on; or, that a man in anger is as wiſe as he that hath ſaid over the four and twenty letters; or, that a muſket may be ſhot off as well upon the arm as upon

ſhip in opening the underſtanding, reſtrained only to ſuch friends as are able to give a man counſel, (they indeed are beſt,) but even without that a man learneth of himſelf, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as againſt a ſtone which itſelf cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himſelf to a ſtatue or picture, than to ſuffer his thoughts to paſs in ſmother.

Add now, to make this ſecond fruit of friendſhip complete, that other point which lieth more open and falleth within vulgar obſervation; which is faithful counſel from a friend. Heraclitus ſaith well in one of his enigmas, "Dry light is ever the beſt:" and certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counſel from another is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own underſtanding and judgment; which is ever infuſed and drenched in his affections and cuſtoms. So as there is as much difference between the counſel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himſelf, as there is between the counſel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no ſuch flatterer as is a man's ſelf, and there is no ſuch remedy againſt flattery of a man's ſelf as the

liberty of a friend. Counſel is of two ſorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning buſineſs: for the firſt, the beſt preſervative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's ſelf to a ſtrict account is a medicine ſometime too piercing and corroſive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; obſerving our faults in others is ſometimes improper for our caſe; but the beſt receipt, (beſt I ſay to work, and beſt to take,) is the admonition of a friend. It is a ſtrange thing to behold what groſs errors and extreme abſurdities many, (eſpecially of the greater ſort,) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune; for, as St. James ſaith, they are as men "that look ſometimes into "a glaſs and preſently forget their own ſhape "and favour:" as for buſineſs, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes ſee no more than one; or, that a gameſter ſeeth always more than a looker on; or, that a man in anger is as wiſe as he that hath ſaid over the four and twenty letters; or, that a muſket may be ſhot off as well upon the arm as upon

a reſt; and ſuch other fond and high imaginations to think himſelf all in all: but when all is done, the help of good counſel is that which ſetteth buſineſs ſtraight; and if any man think that he will take counſel, but it ſhall be by pieces; aſking counſel in one buſineſs of one man, and in another buſineſs of another man; it is well, (that is to ſay, better perhaps than if he aſked none at all,) but he runneth two dangers; one, that he ſhall not be faithfully counſelled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counſel given, but ſuch as ſhall be bowed and crooked to ſome ends which he hath that giveth it: the other, that he ſhall have counſel given, hurtful and unſafe, (though with good meaning,) and mixt partly of miſchief and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a phyſician that is thought good for the cure of the diſeaſe you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and, therefore, may put you in a way for a preſent cure, but overthroweth your health in ſome other kind, and ſo cure the diſeaſe and kill the patient: but a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's eſtate, will beware, by

furthering any preſent buſineſs, how he daſheth upon other inconvenience; and, therefore, reſt not upon ſcattered counſels; they will rather diſtract and miſlead, than ſettle and direct.

After theſe two noble fruits of friendſhip, (peace in the affections, and ſupport of the judgment,) followeth the laſt fruit, which is, like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid and bearing a part in all actions and occaſions. Here the beſt way to repreſent to life the manifold uſe of friendſhip, is to caſt and ſee how many things there are which a man cannot do himſelf; and then it will appear that it was a ſparing ſpeech of the ancients to ſay, "that a friend is another himſelf; for that a friend is far more than himſelf." Men have their time, and die many times in deſire of ſome things which they principally take to heart; the beſtowing of a child, the finiſhing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend he may reſt almoſt ſecure that the care of thoſe things will continue after him; ſo that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his deſires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but

where friendſhip is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exerciſe them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot with any face or comelineſs ſay or do himſelf? A man can ſcarce alledge his own merits with modeſty, much leſs extol them; a man cannot ſometimes brook to ſupplicate or beg; and a number of the like: but all theſe things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are bluſhing in a man's own. So again, a man's perſon hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot ſpeak to his ſon but as a father; to his wife but as a huſband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may ſpeak as the caſe requires, and not as it ſorteth to the perſon: but to enumerate theſe things were endleſs; I have given the rule where a man cannot fitly play his own part; if he have not a friend he may quit the ſtage.

OF EXPENSE.

Riches are for ſpending, and ſpending for honour and good actions; therefore extraordinary expenſe muſt be limited by the worth of the occaſion: for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven; but ordinary expenſe ought to be limited by a man's eſtate, and governed with ſuch regard as it be within his compaſs; and not ſubject to deceit and abuſe of ſervants; and ordered to the beſt ſhew, that the bills may be leſs than the eſtimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenſes ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baſeneſs for the greateſt to deſcend and look into their own eſtate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themſelves into melancholy, in reſpect they ſhall find it broken: but wounds cannot be cured without ſearching. He that cannot look into his own eſtate at all had need both chooſe well thoſe whom he

employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and leſs ſubtile. He that can look into his eſtate but ſeldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in ſome kind of expenſe, to be as ſaving again in ſome other: as if he be plentiful in diet, to be ſaving in apparel; if he be plentiful in the hall, to be ſaving in the ſtable, and the like: for he that is plentiful in expenſes of all kinds will hardly be preſerved from decay. In clearing of a man's eſtate he may as well hurt himſelf in being too ſudden, as in letting it run on too long; for haſty ſelling is commonly as diſadvantageable as intereſt. Beſides, he that clears at once will relapſe; for, finding himſelf out of ſtraits he will revert to his cuſtoms: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his eſtate. Certainly, who hath a ſtate to repair may not deſpiſe ſmall things; and, commonly, it is leſs diſhonourable to abridge petty charges than to ſtoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun will continue; but in matters that return not he may be more magnificent.

OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

The ſpeech of Themiſtocles the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant in taking ſo much to himſelf, had been a grave and wiſe obſervation and cenſure, applied at large to others. Deſired at a feaſt to touch a lute, he ſaid, "he could not fiddle, but yet he could "make a ſmall town a great city." Theſe words, (holpen a little with a metaphor,) may expreſs two differing abilities in thoſe that deal in buſineſs of eſtate; for, if a true ſurvey be taken of counſellors and ſtateſmen, there may be found, (though rarely,) thoſe which can make a ſmall ſtate great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other ſide, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are ſo far from being able to make a ſmall ſtate great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flouriſhing eſtate to ruin and decay: and, certainly, thoſe degenerate arts and ſhifts, whereby many counſellors and governors gain both favour

with their maſters and eſtimation with the vulgar, deſerve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleaſing for the time, and graceful to themſelves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the ſtate which they ſerve. There are alſo, (no doubt,) counſellors and governors which may be held ſufficient, "negotiis pares," able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifeſt inconveniences; which, nevertheleſs, are far from the ability to raiſe and amplify an eſtate in power, means, and fortune: but be the workmen what they may be, let us ſpeak of the work; that is, the true greatneſs of kingdoms and eſtates; and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end, that neither by over-meaſuring their forces they loſe themſelves in vain enterpriſes; nor, on the other ſide, by undervaluing them they deſcend to fearful and puſillanimous counſels.

The greatneſs of an eſtate in bulk and territory doth fall under meaſure; and the greatneſs of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by muſters; and the number and great-

neſs of cities and towns by cards and maps: but yet there is not any thing, amongſt civil affairs, more ſubject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an eſtate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of muſtard ſeed; which is one of the leaſt grains, but hath in it a property and ſpirit haſtily to get up and ſpread. So are there ſtates great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and ſome that have but a ſmall dimenſion of ſtem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, ſtored arſenals and armories, goodly races of horſe, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a ſheep in a lion's ſkin, except the breed and diſpoſition of the people be ſtout and warlike. Nay, number (itſelf) in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage; for, as Virgil ſaith, "It never trou-"bles a wolf how many the ſheep be." The army of the Perſians, in the plains of Arbela, was ſuch a vaſt ſea of people as it did ſomewhat aſtoniſh the commanders in Alexander's

army, who came to him therefore, and wiſhed him to ſet upon them by night; but he anſwered, he would not pilfer the victory; and the defeat was eaſy. When Tigranes the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thouſand men, diſcovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thouſand marching towards him, he made himſelf merry with it, and ſaid, "Yonder men are "too many for an ambaſſage, and too few for "a fight:" but before the ſun ſet he found them enow to give him the chace with infinite ſlaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: ſo that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatneſs in any state, is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the ſinews of war, (as it is trivially ſaid,) where the ſinews of men's arms in baſe and effeminate people are failing; for Solon ſaid well to Crœſus, (when in oſtentation he ſhewed him his gold,) "Sir, if any other come "that hath better iron than you, he will be "maſter of all this gold." Therefore let any prince or ſtate think ſoberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and

valiant ſoldiers; and let princes, on the other ſide, that have ſubjects of martial diſpoſition, know their own ſtrength, unleſs they be otherwiſe wanting unto themſelves. As for mercenary forces, (which is the help in this caſe,) all examples ſhew that, whatſoever eſtate or prince doth reſt upon them, he may ſpread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them ſoon after.

The bleſſing of Judah and Iſſachar will never meet; that the ſame people or nation ſhould be both the lion's whelp, and the aſs between burdens: neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes ſhould ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes, levied by conſent of the eſtate, do abate men's courage leſs; as it hath been ſeen notably in the exerciſes of the Low countries; and, in ſome degree, in the ſubſidies of England: for you muſt note that we ſpeak now of the heart, and not of the purſe; ſo that, although the ſame tribute and tax, laid by conſent or by impoſing, be all one to the purſe, yet it works diverſely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let ſtates that aim at greatneſs take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too faſt; for that maketh the common ſubject grow to be a peaſant and baſe ſwain, driven out of heart, and, in effect, but a gentleman's labourer. Even as you may ſee in coppice woods; if you leave your ſtaddles too thick, you ſhall never have clean underwood, but ſhrubs and buſhes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be baſe; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll will be fit for an helmet; eſpecially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army: and ſo there will be great population and little ſtrength. This which I ſpeak of hath been no where better ſeen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far leſs in territory and population, hath been, (nevertheleſs,) an overmatch; in regard the middle people of England make good ſoldiers, which the peaſants of France do not: and herein the device of king Henry the ſeventh, (whereof I have ſpoken largely in the hiſtory of his life,) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houſes of huſbandry of a ſtandard; that is,

maintained with ſuch a proportion of land unto them as may breed a ſubject to live in convenient plenty, and no ſervile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings: and thus indeed you ſhall attain to Virgil's character which he gives to ancient Italy:

"Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ."

Neither is that ſtate, (which, for any thing I know, is almoſt peculiar to England, and hardly to be found any where elſe, except it be perhaps in Poland,) to be paſſed over; I mean the ſtate of free ſervants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms; and therefore, out of all queſtion, the ſplendour and magnificence, and great retinues, and hoſpitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into cuſtom, do much conduce unto martial greatneſs: whereas, contrariwiſe, the cloſe and reſerved living of noblemen and gentlemen cauſeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the

boughs; that is, that the natural ſubjects of the crown or ſtate bear a ſufficient proportion to the ſtranger ſubjects that they govern; therefore all ſtates that are liberal of naturalization towards ſtrangers are fit for empire: for to think that an handful of people can, with the greateſt courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail ſuddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compaſs, they ſtood firm; but when they did ſpread, and their boughs were become too great for their ſtem, they became a windfall upon the ſudden. Never any ſtate was, in this point, ſo open to receive ſtrangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it ſorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greateſt monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization, (which they called, "jus civitatis,") and to grant it in the higheſt degree, that is, not only "jus commercii, jus "connubii, jus hæreditatis;" but alſo, "jus "ſuffragii, and jus honorum;" and this not to ſingular perſons alone, but likewiſe to whole families; yea, to cities, and ſometimes to na-

tions. Add to this, their cuſtom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the ſoil of other nations; and, putting both conſtitutions together, you will ſay, that it was not the Romans that ſpread upon the world, but it was the world that ſpread upon the Romans; and that was the ſure way of greatneſs. I have marvelled ſometimes at Spain, how they claſp and contain ſo large dominions with ſo few natural Spaniards: but ſure the whole compaſs of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the firſt; and, beſides, though they have not had that uſage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ, almoſt indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary ſoldiers; yea, and ſometimes in their higheſt commands: nay, it ſeemeth at this inſtant, they are ſenſible of this want of natives; as by the pragmatical ſanction, now publiſhed, appeareth.

It is certain, that ſedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures, (that require rather the finger than the arm,) have in their nature a contrariety to a military diſpoſition;

and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail; neither muſt they be too much broken of it, if they ſhall be preſerved in vigour: therefore it was great advantage in the ancient ſtates of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the uſe of ſlaves, which commonly did rid thoſe manufactures; but that is aboliſhed, in greateſt part, by the chriſtian law. That which cometh neareſt to it is, to leave thoſe arts chiefly to ſtrangers, (which for that purpoſe are the more eaſily to be received,) and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within thoſe three kinds, tillers of the ground, free ſervants, and handicraftſmen of ſtrong and manly arts; as ſmiths, maſons, carpenters, &c. not reckoning profeſſed ſoldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatneſs it importeth moſt, that a nation do profeſs arms as their principal honour, ſtudy, and occupation; for the things which we formerly have ſpoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death, (as they report or feign,) ſent a preſent to the Romans, that

above all they ſhould intend arms, and then they ſhould prove the greateſt empire of the world. The fabric of the ſtate of Sparta was wholly, (though not wiſely,) framed and compoſed to that ſcope and end; the Perſians and Macedonians had it for a flaſh; the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others had it for a time; the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Chriſtian Europe they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards: but it is ſo plain, that every man profiteth in that he moſt intendeth, that it needeth not to be ſtood upon: it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profeſs arms, may look to have greatneſs fall into their mouths: and, on the other ſide, it is a moſt certain oracle of time, that thoſe ſtates that continue long in that profeſſion, (as the Romans and Turks principally have done,) do wonders; and thoſe that have profeſſed arms but for an age have, notwithſtanding, commonly attained that greatneſs in that age which maintained them long after, when their profeſſion and exerciſe of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a ſtate to have

thoſe laws or cuſtoms which may reach forth unto them juſt occaſions, (as may be pretended,) of war; for there is that juſtice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars, (whereof ſo many calamities do enſue,) but upon ſome, at the leaſt ſpecious, grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cauſe of war, the propagation of his law or ſect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they eſteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never reſted upon that alone to begin a war: firſt, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatneſs have this, that they be ſenſible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic miniſters; and that they ſit not too long upon a provocation: ſecondly, let them be preſſed and ready to give aids and ſuccours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; inſomuch, as if the confederates had leagues defenſive with divers other ſtates, and upon invaſion offered did implore their aids ſeverally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremoſt, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars, which were

anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacite conformity of eſtate, I do not ſee how they may be well juſtified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia; or, when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to ſet up or pull down democracies and oligarchies; or, when wars were made by foreigners under the pretence of juſtice or protection, to deliver the ſubjects of others from tyranny and oppreſſion, and the like. Let it ſuffice, that no eſtate expect to be great that is not awake upon any juſt occaſion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exerciſe, neither natural body nor politic: and, certainly, to a kingdom or eſtate a juſt and honourable war is the true exerciſe. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exerciſe, and ſerveth to keep the body in health; for in a ſlothful peace both courages will effeminate, and manners corrupt: but howſoever it be for happineſs, without all queſtion for greatneſs, it maketh to be ſtill for the moſt part in arms; and the ſtrength of a veteran army, (though it be a chargeable buſineſs,) always on foot, is

that which commonly giveth the law; or, at leaſt, the reputation amongſt all neighbour ſtates, as may be well ſeen in Spain; which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almoſt continually, now by the ſpace of ſixſcore years.

To be maſter of the ſea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation againſt Cæſar, ſaith, "Conſilium Pompeii plane Themiſtocleum eſt; "putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum "potiri:" and, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæſar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We ſee the great effects of battles by ſea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arreſted the greatneſs of the Turk. There be many examples where ſea fights have been final to the war; but this is when princes or ſtates have ſet up their reſt upon the battles: but thus much is certain, that he that commands the ſea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas thoſe that be ſtrongeſt by land are many times, nevertheleſs, in great ſtraits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe the

vantage of ſtrength at ſea, (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain,) is great; both becauſe moſt of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the ſea moſt part of their compaſs; and becauſe the wealth of both Indies ſeems in great part but an acceſſary to the command of the ſeas.

The wars of latter ages ſeem to be made in the dark in reſpect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, ſome degrees and orders of chivalry, which, nevertheleſs, are conferred promiſcuouſly upon ſoldiers and no ſoldiers, and ſome remembrance perhaps upon the eſcutcheon, and ſome hoſpitals for maimed ſoldiers, and ſuch like things: but in ancient times the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for thoſe that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands perſonal; the ſtyle of emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largeſſes upon the diſbanding of the armies, were things able to enflame

all men's courages; but above all, that of the triumph amongſt the Romans was not pageants or gaudery, but one of the wiſeſt and nobleſt inſtitutions that ever was; for it contained three things, honour to the general; riches to the treaſury out of the ſpoils; and donatives to the army: but that honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies; except it be in the perſon of the monarch himſelf, or his ſons; as it came to paſs in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themſelves and their ſons for ſuch wars as they did achieve in perſon; and left only for wars achieved by ſubjects ſome triumphal garments and enſigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can by care taking, (as the ſcripture ſaith,) "add a cubit to his "ſtature," in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths it is in the power of princes or eſtates to add amplitude and greatneſs to their kingdoms; for by introducing ſuch ordinances, conſtitutions, and cuſtoms, as we have now touched, they may ſow greatneſs to their poſterity and ſucceſſion: but theſe things are

commonly not obſerved, but left to take their chance.

OF REGIMEN OF HEALTH.

There is a wiſdom in this beyond the rules of phyſic: a man's own obſervation what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the beſt phyſic to preſerve health; but it is a ſafer concluſion to ſay, "This agreeth not well "with me, therefore I will not continue it;" than this, "I find no offence of this, therefore "I may uſe it:" for ſtrength of nature in youth paſſeth over many exceſſes which are owing a man till his age. Diſcern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the ſame things ſtill; for age will not be defied. Beware of ſudden change in any great point of diet, and if neceſſity enforce it, fit the reſt to it; for it is a ſecret both in nature and ſtate, that it is ſafer to change many things than one. Examine thy cuſtoms of diet, ſleep, exerciſe, apparel, and the like; and try in any thing thou ſhalt judge hurtful, to diſcontinue it by little and little; but ſo, as if thou doſt find

any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again; for it is hard to diſtinguiſh that, which is generally held good and wholeſome, from that, which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully diſpoſed at hours of meat, and of ſleep, and of exerciſe is one of the beſt precepts of long laſting. As for the paſſions and ſtudies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger fretting inwards, ſubtile and knotty inquiſitions, joys and exhilarations in exceſs, ſadneſs not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights, rather than ſurfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; ſtudies that fill the mind with ſplendid and illuſtrious objects, as hiſtories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly phyſic in health altogether, it will be too ſtrange for your body when you ſhall need it; if you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when ſickneſs cometh. I commend rather ſome diet for certain ſeaſons, than frequent uſe of phyſic, except it be grown into a cuſtom; for thoſe diets alter the body more, and trouble it leſs. Deſpiſe no new accident in

your body, but aſk opinion of it. In ſickneſs, reſpect health principally; and in health, action: for thoſe that put their bodies to endure in health, may in moſt ſickneſſes which are not very ſharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celſus could never have ſpoken it as a phyſician, had he not been a wiſe man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and laſting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries; but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: uſe faſting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and ſleep, but rather ſleep; ſitting and exerciſe, but rather exerciſe, and the like: ſo ſhall nature be cheriſhed, and yet taught maſteries. Phyſicians are ſome of them ſo pleaſing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they preſs not the true cure of the diſeaſe; and ſome other are ſo regular in proceeding according to art for the diſeaſe, as they reſpect not ſufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either ſort; and forget not to call as well the beſt acquainted with your body, as the beſt reputed of for his faculty.

OF SUSPICION.

Suspicions amongſt thoughts are like bats amongſt birds, they ever fly by twilight: certainly they are to be repreſſed, or, at the leaſt, well guarded; for they cloud the mind, they loſe friends, and they check with buſineſs, whereby buſineſs cannot go on currently and conſtantly: they diſpoſe kings to tyranny, huſbands to jealouſy, wiſe men to irreſolution and melancholy: they are defects, not in the heart but in the brain; for they take place in the ſtouteſt natures; as in the example of Henry the ſeventh of England; there was not a more ſuſpicious man nor a more ſtout: and in ſuch a compoſition they do ſmall hurt; for commonly they are not admitted but with examination, whether they be likely or no? but in fearful natures they gain ground too faſt. There is nothing makes a man ſuſpect much, more than to know little; and, therefore, men ſhould remedy ſuſpicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their ſuſpicions in ſmother. What would men have? do they think

thoſe they employ and deal with are ſaints? do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themſelves than to them? therefore there is no better way to moderate ſuſpicions, than to account upon ſuch ſuſpicions as true, and yet to bridle them as falſe: for ſo far a man ought to make uſe of ſuſpicions as to provide, as if that ſhould be true that he ſuſpects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suſpicions that the mind of itſelf gathers are but buzzes; but ſuſpicions that are artificially nouriſhed, and put into men's heads by the tales and whiſperings of others, have ſtings. Certainly, the beſt mean to clear the way in this ſame wood of ſuſpicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he ſuſpects; for thereby he ſhall be ſure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal ſhall make that party more circumſpect not to give farther cauſe of ſuſpicion: but this would not be done to men of baſe natures; for they, if they find themſelves once ſuſpected, will never be true. The Italian ſays, "Soſ-"petto licentia fede;" as if ſuſpicion did give a paſſport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to diſcharge itſelf.

OF DISCOURSE.

Some in their diſcourſe deſire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in diſcerning what is true; as if it were a praiſe to know what might be ſaid, and not what ſhould be thought. Some have certain common places and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the moſt part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourableſt part of talk is to give the occaſion; and again to moderate and paſs to ſomewhat elſe, for then a man leads the dance. It is good in diſcourſe, and ſpeech of converſation, to vary and intermingle ſpeech of the preſent occaſion with arguments, tales with reaſons, aſking of queſtions with telling of opinions, and jeſt with earneſt; for it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we ſay now, to jade any thing too far. As for jeſt, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of ſtate, great perſons, any man's preſent buſineſs of im-

portance, and any caſe that deſerveth pity; yet there be ſome that think their wits have been aſleep, except they dart out ſomewhat that is piquant, and to the quick: that is a vein which would be bridled;

" Parce puer ſtimulis, et fortius utere loris."

And, generally, men ought to find the difference between ſaltneſs and bitterneſs. Certainly, he that hath a ſatirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, ſo he had need be afraid of other's memory. He that queſtioneth much ſhall learn much, and content much; but eſpecially if he apply his queſtions to the skill of the perſons whom he aſketh; for he ſhall give them occaſion to pleaſe themſelves in ſpeaking, and himſelf ſhall continually gather knowledge: but let his queſtions not be troubleſome, for that is fit for a poſer; and let him be ſure to leave other men their turns to ſpeak: nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and bring others on; as muſicians uſe to do with thoſe that dance too long galliards. If you diſſemble ſometimes your knowledge of

that you are thought to know, you ſhall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's ſelf ought to be ſeldom, and well choſen. I knew one was wont to ſay in ſcorn, "He muſt needs be a wiſe man, "he ſpeaks ſo much of himſelf:" and there is but one caſe wherein a man may commend himſelf with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another; eſpecially if it be ſuch a virtue whereunto himſelf pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others ſhould be ſparingly uſed; for diſcourſe ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen of the weſt part of England, whereof the one was given to ſcoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his houſe; the other would aſk of thoſe that had been at the other's table, "Tell truly, was there never a flout or "dry blow given?" to which the gueſt would anſwer, "Such and ſuch a thing paſſed;" the lord would ſay, "I thought he would mar a "good dinner." Diſcretion of ſpeech is more than eloquence; and to ſpeak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to ſpeak in good words, or in good order. A good continued ſpeech without a good ſpeech of

interlocution ſhews ſlowneſs; and a good reply, or ſecond ſpeech, without a good ſettled ſpeech, ſheweth ſhallowneſs and weakneſs. As we ſee in beaſts, that thoſe, that are weakeſt in the courſe, are yet nimbleſt in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To uſe too many circumſtances ere one come to the matter is weariſome; to uſe none at all is blunt.

OF PLANTATIONS.

PLANTATIONS are amongſt ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children; but now it is old it begets fewer: for I may juſtly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure ſoil; that is, where people are not diſplanted to the end to plant in others; for elſe it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you muſt make account to loſe almoſt twenty years profit, and expect your recompenſe in the end: for the principal thing that hath been the

deſtruction of moſt plantations, hath been the baſe and haſty drawing of profit in the firſt years. It is true, ſpeedy profit is not to be neglected as far as may ſtand with the good of the plantation, but no farther. It is a ſhameful and unbleſſed thing to take the ſcum of people and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only ſo, but it ſpoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do miſchief, and ſpend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the diſcredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, ſmiths, carpenters, joiners, fiſhermen, fowlers, with ſome few apothecaries, ſurgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation firſt look about what kind of victual the country yields of itſelf to hand; as cheſnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like, and make uſe of them. Then conſider what victual, or eſculent things there are, which grow ſpeedily, and within the year; as parſnips, carrots, turnips, onions, raddiſh, artichokes of Jeruſalem, maiſe, and

the like: for wheat, barley, and oats, they aſk too much labour; but with pease and beans you may begin; both becauſe they aſk leſs labour, and becauſe they ſerve for meat, as well as for bread; and of rice likewiſe cometh a great increaſe, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought ſtore of biſcuit, oatmeal, flower, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beaſts or birds, take chiefly ſuch as are leaſt ſubject to diſeaſes, and multiply faſteſt; as ſwine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geeſe, houſe-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almoſt as in a beſieged town; that is, with certain allowance: and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common ſtock; and to be laid in, and ſtored up, and then delivered out in proportion; beſides ſome ſpots of ground that any particular perſon will manure for his own private. Conſider, likewiſe, what commodities the ſoil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may ſome way help to defray the charge of the plantation; ſo it be not, as was ſaid, to the untimely prejudice of the main buſineſs;

as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and ſtreams whereupon to ſet the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-ſalt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience: growing ſilk likewiſe, if any be, is a likely commodity: pitch and tar, where ſtore of firs and pines are, will not fail; ſo drugs and ſweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit; ſoap ashes likewiſe, and other things that may be thought of: but moil not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and uſeth to make the planters lazy in others. For government, let it be in the hands of one aſſiſted with ſome counſel; and let them have commiſſion to exerciſe martial laws with ſome limitation; and, above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderneſs, as they have God always, and his ſervice, before their eyes: let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counſellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let thoſe be rather noblemen and gentle-

men, than merchants; for they look ever to the preſent gain: let there be freedom from cuſtom till the plantation be of ſtrength; and not only freedom from cuſtom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their beſt of them, except there be ſome ſpecial cauſe of caution. Cram not in people, by ſending too faſt company after company; but rather hearken how they waſte, and ſend ſupplies proportionably; but ſo as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by ſurcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of ſome plantations that they have built along the ſea and rivers, in maiish and unwholeſome grounds: therefore, though you begin there to avoid carriage and other like diſcommodities, yet build ſtill rather upwards from the ſtreams, than along. It concerneth likewiſe the health of the plantation that they have good ſtore of ſalt with them, that they may uſe it in their victuals when it ſhall be neceſſary. If you plant where ſavages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles; but uſe them juſtly and graciouſly, with ſufficient guard nevertheleſs; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade

their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiſs; and ſend oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may ſee a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to ſtrength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may ſpread into generations, and not be ever pierced from without. It is the ſinfulleſt thing in the world to forſake or deſtitute a plantation once in forwardneſs; for, beſides the diſhonour, it is the guiltineſs of blood of many commiſerable perſons.

OF RICHES.

I CANNOT call riches better than the baggage of virtue; the Roman word is better, "impedimenta;" for as the baggage is to an army, ſo are riches to virtue; it cannot be ſpared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march; yea, and the care of it ſometimes loſeth or diſturbeth the victory: of great riches there is no real uſe, except it be in the diſtribution; the reſt is but conceit: ſo ſaith

Solomon; " Where much is, there are many " to conſume it; and what hath the owner " but the ſight of it with his eyes?" The perſonal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a cuſtody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no ſolid uſe to the owner. Do you not ſee what feigned princes are ſet upon little ſtones and rarities? and what works of oſtentation are undertaken, becauſe there might ſeem to be ſome uſe of great riches? But then you will ſay they may be of uſe to buy men out of dangers or troubles; as Solomon ſaith, " Riches are as a ſtrong hold in " the imagination of the rich man:" but this is excellently expreſſed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact; for, certainly, great riches have ſold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but ſuch as thou mayeſt get juſtly, uſe ſoberly, diſtribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly; yet have no abſtract or friarly contempt of them; but diſtinguiſh, as Cicero ſaith well of Rabirius Poſthumus, " in ſtudio rei amplifi- " candæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, ſed " inſtrumentum bonitati quæri." Hearken alſo

to Solomon, and beware of haſty gathering of riches; "Qui feſtinat ad divitias, non erit "inſons." The poets feign, that when Plutus, (which is riches,) is ſent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes ſlowly; but when he is ſent from Pluto, he runs, and is ſwift of foot; meaning, that riches gotten by good means and juſt labour pace ſlowly; but when they come by the death of others, (as by the courſe of inheritance, teſtaments, and the like,) they come tumbling upon a man: but it might be applied likewiſe to Pluto taking him for the devil; for when riches come from the devil, (as by fraud, and oppreſſion, and unjuſt means,) they come upon ſpeed. The ways to enrich are many, and moſt of them foul: parſimony is one of the beſt, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the moſt natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's bleſſing, the earth; but it is ſlow: and yet, where men of great wealth do ſtoop to huſbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England that had the greateſt audits of any man in my time; a great grazier, a great ſheep maſter, a

great timber man, a great collier, a great corn maſter, a great lead man, and ſo of iron, and a number of the like points of huſbandry; ſo as the earth ſeemed a ſea to him in reſpect of the perpetual importation. It was truly obſerved by one, "That himſelf came very hardly to a "little riches, and very eaſily to great riches;" for when a man's ſtock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome thoſe bargains, which for their greatneſs are few men's money, and be partner in the induſtries of young men, he cannot but increaſe mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honeſt, and furthered by two things, chiefly, by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing; but the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men ſhall wait upon others neceſſity; broke by ſervants and inſtruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naught: as for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold but to ſell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the ſeller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich if the

hands be well choſen that are truſted. Uſury is the certaineſt means of gain, though one of the worſt, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread, "in ſudore vultus alieni;" and beſides, doth plough upon ſundays: but yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the ſcriveners and brokers do value unſound men to ſerve their own turn. The fortune, in being the firſt in an invention or in a privilege, doth cauſe ſometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches; as it was with the firſt ſugar man in the Canaries: therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, eſpecially if the times be fit: he that reſteth upon gains certain, ſhall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold loſſes. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for reſale, where they are not reſtrained, are great means to enrich; eſpecially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into requeſt, and ſo ſtore himſelf before hand. Riches gotten by ſervice, though it be of the beſt riſe, yet when they are gotten

by flattery, feeding humours, and other ſervile conditions, they may be placed amongſt the worſt. As for fiſhing for teſtaments and executorſhips, (as Tacitus ſaith of Seneca, "teſtamenta et orbos tanquam indagine capi,") it is yet worſe, by how much men ſubmit themſelves to meaner perſons than in ſervice. Believe not much them that ſeem to deſpiſe riches, for they deſpiſe them that deſpair of them; and none worſe when they come to them. Be not penny-wiſe; riches have wings, and ſometimes they fly away of themſelves, ſometimes they muſt be ſet flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions proſper beſt in both. A great eſtate left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to ſeize on him, if he be not the better ſtabliſhed in years and judgment: likewiſe, glorious gifts and foundations are like ſacrifices without ſalt; and but the painted ſepulchres of alms, which ſoon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly: therefore meaſure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by meaſure: and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly,

he that doth ſo is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

OF PROPHECIES.

I MEAN not to ſpeak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden cauſes. Saith the Pythoniſſa to Saul, "To-morrow thou and "thy ſon ſhall be with me." Virgil hath theſe verſes from Homer:

"At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui naſcentur ab illis." Æn. iii. 97.

A prophecy as it ſeems of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath theſe verſes:

——"Venient annis
Sæcula ſeris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphyſque novos
Detegat orbes; nec ſit terris
Ultima Thule:"

a prophecy of the diſcovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter

bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to paſs that he was crucified in an open place, where the ſun made his body run with ſweat, and the rain waſhed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he ſealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife ſhould be barren; but Ariſtander the ſoothſayer told him his wife was with child, becauſe men do not uſe to ſeal veſſels that are empty. A phantaſm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, ſaid to him; "Philippis "iterum me videbis." Tiberius ſaid to Galba, "tu quoque, Galba, deguſtabis imperium." In Veſpaſian's time there went a prophecy in the Eaſt, that thoſe that ſhould come forth of Judea, ſhould reign over the world; which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Veſpaſian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was ſlain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and indeed the ſucceſſion that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry the ſixth of England ſaid of Henry the ſeventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, "This is the lad that "ſhall enjoy the crown for which we ſtrive."

When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the queen mother, who was given to curious arts, cauſed the king her huſband's nativity to be calculated under a falſe name; and the aſtrologer gave a judgment, that he ſhould be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed, thinking her huſband to be above challenges and duels: but he was ſlain upon a courſe at tilt, the ſplinters of the ſtaff of Montgomery going in at his bever. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was;

"When hemp is ſpun,
England's done:"

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word hemp, (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth,) England ſhould come to utter confuſion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the king's ſtyle is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was alſo another prophecy before the year of eighty eight, which I do not well underſtand.

There ſhall be ſeen upon a day,
Between the baugh and the May,
The black fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build houſes of lime and ſtone,
For after wars ſhall you have none."

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spaniſh fleet that came in eighty-eight; for that the king of Spain's ſurname, as they ſay, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

"Octogeſimus octavus mirabilis annus:"

was thought likewiſe accompliſhed in the ſending of that great fleet, being the greateſt in ſtrength, though not in number, of all that ever ſwam upon the ſea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jeſt: it was, that he was devoured of a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of ſauſages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; eſpecially if you include dreams, and predictions of aſtrology: but I have ſet down theſe few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought

all to be deſpiſed, and ought to ſerve but for winter talk by the fire ſide. Though when I ſay deſpiſed, I mean it as for belief; for otherwiſe, the ſpreading or publiſhing of them is in no ſort to be deſpiſed; for they have done much miſchief; and I ſee many ſevere laws made to ſuppreſs them. That, that hath given them grace and ſome credit, conſiſteth in three things. Firſt, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miſs; as they do, generally, alſo of dreams. The ſecond is, that probable conjectures, or obſcure traditions, many times turn themſelves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretel that which indeed they do but collect: as that of Seneca's verſe; for ſo much was then ſubject to demonſtration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all ſea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's Timæus, and his Atlanticus, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and laſt, (which is the great one,) is that almoſt all of them, being infinite in number, have been impoſtures, and by idle and crafty

brains, merely contrived and feigned, after the event paſt.

OF AMBITION.

Ambition is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earneſt, full of alacrity, and ſtirring, if it be not ſtopped; but if it be ſtopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh aduſt, and thereby malign and venomous: ſo ambitious men, if they find the way open for their riſing, and ſtill get forward, they are rather buſy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their deſires, they become ſecretly diſcontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are beſt pleaſed when things go backward; which is the worſt property in a ſervant of a prince or ſtate: therefore it is good for princes, if they uſe ambitious men, to handle it ſo, as they be ſtill progreſſive, and not retrograde; which, becauſe it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to uſe ſuch natures at all; for if they riſe not with their ſervice they will take order to make their ſervice fall with them.

But ſince we have ſaid, it were good not to uſe men of ambitious natures, except it be upon neceſſity, it is fit we ſpeak in what caſes they are of neceſſity. Good commanders in the wars muſt be taken, be they never ſo ambitious; for the uſe of their ſervice diſpenſeth with the reſt; and to take a ſoldier without ambition, is to pull off his ſpurs. There is alſo great uſe of ambitious men in being ſcreens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part, except he be like a ſeeled dove, that mounts and mounts, becauſe he cannot ſee about him. There is uſe alſo of ambitious men in pulling down the greatneſs of any ſubject that overtops; as Tiberius uſed Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since therefore they muſt be uſed in ſuch caſes, there reſteth to ſpeak how they are to be bridled, that they may be leſs dangerous: there is leſs danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and if they be rather harſh of nature, than gracious and popular; and if they be rather new raiſed, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatneſs. It is counted by ſome a weakneſs in princes to have favourites; but it is, of all

others, the beſt remedy againſt ambitious great ones; for when the way of pleaſuring and diſpleaſuring lieth by the favourite, it is impoſſible any other ſhould be over-great. Another means to curb them is to balance them by others as proud as they: but then there muſt be ſome middle counſellors to keep things ſteady; for without that ballaſt the ſhip will roll too much. At the leaſt, a prince may animate and inure ſome meaner perſons to be, as it were, ſcourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be ſtout and daring, it may precipitate their deſigns, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with ſafety ſuddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and diſgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood. Of ambitions, it is leſs harmful the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confuſion, and mars buſineſs: but yet it is leſs danger to have an ambitious man ſtirring in buſineſs, than great in dependences.

He that ſeeketh to be eminent amongſt able men hath a great taſk; but that is ever good for the public: but he that plots to be the only figure amongſt cyphers, is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it; the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal perſons; and the raiſing of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the beſt of theſe intentions, when he aſpireth, is an honeſt man; and that prince, that can diſcern of theſe intentions in another that aſpireth, is a wiſe prince. Generally let princes and ſtates chooſe ſuch miniſters as are more ſenſible of duty than of riſing, and ſuch as love buſineſs rather upon conſcience than upon bravery; and let them diſcern a buſy nature from a willing mind.

OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

These things are but toys to come amongſt ſuch ſerious obſervations; but yet, ſince princes will have ſuch things, it is better they ſhould be graced with elegancy, than daubed with coſt. Dancing to ſong is a thing of great ſtate and

pleaſure. I underſtand it that the ſong be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with ſome broken muſic; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in ſong, eſpecially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I ſay acting, not dancing; (for that is a mean and vulgar thing;) and the voices of the dialogue would be ſtrong and manly, (a baſe, and a tenor; no treble,) and the ditty high and tragical; not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over againſt another, and taking the voice by catches anthem-wiſe, give great pleaſure. Turning dances into figure is a childiſh curioſity: and generally let it be noted, that thoſe things which I here ſet down are ſuch as do naturally take the ſenſe, and not reſpect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of ſcenes, ſo it be quietly and without noiſe, are things of great beauty and pleaſure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the ſame object. Let the ſcenes abound with light, eſpecially coloured and varied; and let the maſquers, or any other that are to come down from the ſcene, have ſome motions upon the ſcene itſelf before their coming down; for it draws the eye ſtrangely, and makes it with

great pleaſure to deſire to ſee that it cannot perfectly diſcern. Let the ſongs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings: let the muſic likewiſe be ſharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that ſhew beſt by candle-light are white, carnation, and a kind of ſea-water green; and ouches, or ſpangs, as they are of no great coſt, ſo they are of moſt glory. As for rich embroidery, it is loſt and not diſcerned. Let the ſuits of the maſquers be graceful, and ſuch as become the perſon when the vizards are off; not after examples of known attires; turks, ſoldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-maſques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, ſatyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beaſts, ſpirits, witches, æthiopes, pygmies, turquets, nymphs, ruſtics, cupids, ſtatues moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-maſques; and any thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other ſide, as unfit; but chiefly, let the muſic of them be recreative, and with ſome ſtrange changes. Some ſweet odours ſuddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are in ſuch a company, as there is ſteam and heat, things of great pleaſure and refreſhment.

Double maſques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth ſtate and variety; but all is nothing except the room be kept clear and neat.

For juſts, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; eſpecially if they be drawn with ſtrange beaſts; as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance, or in bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horſes and armour. But enough of theſe toys.

OF NATURE IN MEN.

Nature is often hidden, ſometimes overcome, ſeldom extinguiſhed. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and diſcourſe maketh nature leſs importune; but cuſtom only doth alter and ſubdue nature. He that ſeeketh victory over his nature, let him not ſet himſelf too great nor too ſmall taſks; for the firſt will make him dejected by often failings, and the ſecond will make him a ſmall proceeder, though by often prevailings: and at

the firſt, let him practiſe with helps, as ſwimmers do with bladders or ruſhes; but after a time, let him practiſe with diſadvantages, as dancers do with thick ſhoes; for it breeds great perfection if the practice be harder than the uſe. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, firſt to ſtay and arreſt nature in time; like to him that would ſay over the four and twenty letters when he was angry; then to go leſs in quantity; as if one ſhould in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and laſtly, to diſcontinue altogether: but if a man have the fortitude and reſolution to enfranchiſe himſelf at once, that is the beſt;

"Optimus ille animi vindex, lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque ſemel."

Neither is the ancient rule amiſs, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to ſet it right; underſtanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himſelf with a perpetual continuance, but with ſome intermiſſion; for both the pauſe reinforceth the new onſet; and, if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he

ſhall as well practiſe his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by ſeaſonable intermiſſion: but let not a man truſt his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occaſion or temptation; like as it was with Æſop's damſel, turned from a cat to a woman, who ſate very demurely at the board's end till a mouſe ran before her: therefore let a man either avoid the occaſion altogether, or put himſelf often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is beſt perceived in privateneſs; for there is no affectation in paſſion; for that putteth a man out of his precepts, and in a new caſe or experiment, for there cuſtom leaveth him. They are happy men whoſe natures ſort with their vocations; otherwiſe they may ſay, "multum incola fuit anima "mea," when they converſe in thoſe things they do not affect. In ſtudies, whatſoever a man commandeth upon himſelf, let him ſet hours for it; but whatſoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any ſet times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themſelves, ſo as the ſpaces of other buſineſs or

ſtudies will ſuffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him ſeaſonably water the one, and deſtroy the other.

OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their diſcourſe and ſpeeches according to their learning and infuſed opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accuſtomed: and therefore, as Machiavel well noteth, (though in an evil favoured inſtance,) there is no truſting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by cuſtom. His inſtance is, that for the achieving of a deſperate conſpiracy a man ſhould not reſt upon the fierceneſs of any man's nature, or his reſolute undertakings; but take ſuch an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood: but Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard; yet his rule holdeth ſtill, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not ſo forcible as cuſtom. Only

ſuperſtition is now ſo well advanced, that men of the firſt blood are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary reſolution is made equipollent to cuſtom, even in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of cuſtom is every where viſible, inſomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profeſs, proteſt, engage, give great words, and then do juſt as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines moved only by the wheels of cuſtom. We ſee alſo the reign or tyranny of cuſtom what it is. The Indians, (I mean the ſect of their wiſe men,) lay themſelves quietly upon a ſtack of wood, and ſo ſacrifice themſelves by fire: nay, the wives ſtrive to be burned with the corpſe of their huſbands. The lads of Sparta of ancient time were wont to be ſcourged upon the altar of Diana, without ſo much as quecking. I remember, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Iriſh rebel condemned put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a wyth, and not in an halter, becauſe it had been ſo uſed with former rebels. There be monks in Ruſſia, for penance, that will ſit a whole night in a veſſel of water till they be

engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of cuſtom, both upon mind and body: therefore, ſince cuſtom is the principal magiſtrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good cuſtoms. Certainly, cuſtom is moſt perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early cuſtom. So we ſee, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expreſſions and ſounds, the joints are more ſupple to all feats of activity and motions in youth, than afterwards; for it is true, the late learners cannot ſo well take the ply, except it be in ſome minds that have not ſuffered themſelves to fix, but have kept themſelves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare: but if the force of cuſtom, ſimple and ſeparate, be great, the force of cuſtom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater; for there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiſeth; ſo as in ſuch places the force of cuſtom is in its exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature reſteth upon ſocieties well ordained and diſciplined; for commonwealths

and good governments do nouriſh virtue grown, but do not much mend the ſeeds: but the miſery is, that the moſt effectual means are now applied to the ends leaſt to be deſired.

OF FORTUNE.

It cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune; favour, opportunity, death of others, occaſion fitting virtue: but chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands; "Faber quiſque fortunæ "ſuæ," ſaith the poet; and the moſt frequent of external cauſes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another; for no man proſpers ſo ſuddenly as by others errors; "ſer-"pens niſi ſerpentem comederit non fit draco." Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praiſe; but there be ſecret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's ſelf which have no name. The Spaniſh name, "diſemboltura," partly expreſſeth them, when there be not ſtonds nor reſtiveneſs in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune; for

ſo Livy, (after he had deſcribed Cato Major in theſe words, "in illo viro, tantum robur "corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco "natus eſſet, fortunam ſibi facturus vide-"retur,") falleth upon that that he had, "verſatile ingenium:" therefore, if a man look ſharply and attentively, he ſhall ſee fortune; for though ſhe be blind, yet ſhe is not inviſible. The way of fortune is like the milky way in the ſky; which is a meeting or knot of a number of ſmall ſtars, not ſeen aſunder, but giving light together: ſo are there a number of little and ſcarce diſcerned virtues, or rather faculties and cuſtoms, that make men fortunate: the Italians note ſome of them, ſuch as a man would little think. When they ſpeak of one that cannot do amiſs, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath "Poco di matto;" and, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honeſt: therefore extreme lovers of their country, or maſters were never fortunate: neither can they be; for when a man placeth his thoughts without himſelf, he goeth not his own way. An haſty fortune maketh

an enterprizer and remover; (the French hath it better, "entreprenant," or "remuant;") but the exerciſed fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and reſpected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for thoſe two felicity breedeth; the firſt within a man's ſelf; the latter, in others towards him. All wiſe men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, uſe to aſcribe them to Providence and Fortune; for ſo they may the better aſſume them: and, beſides, it is greatneſs in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæſar ſaid to the pilot in the tempeſt, "Cæſarem portas, et fortunam "ejus." So Sylla choſe the name of "felix," and not of "magnus:" and it hath been noted, that thoſe that aſcribe openly too much to their own wiſdom and policy, end unfortunate. It is written, that Timotheus, the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the ſtate of his government, often interlaced this ſpeech, "And in this fortune had no part," never proſpered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be whoſe fortunes are like Homer's verſes, that have a ſlide and eaſineſs more than the verſes of other

poets; as Plutarch ſaith of Timoleon's fortune in reſpect of that of Ageſilaus, or Epaminondas: and that this ſhould be, no doubt it is much in a man's ſelf.

OF USURY.

MANY have made witty invectives againſt uſury. They ſay, that it is pity the devil ſhould have God's part, which is the tithe; that the uſurer is the greateſt ſabbath-breaker, becauſe his plough goeth every ſunday; that the uſurer is the drone that Virgil ſpeaketh of;

" Ignavum fucos pecus a præſepibus arcent;"

that the uſurer breaketh the firſt law that was made for mankind after the fall; which was, " in " ſudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum;" not, " in ſudore vultus alieni;" that uſurers ſhould have orange-tawny bonnets, becauſe they do judaize; that it is againſt nature for money to beget money, and the like. I ſay this only, " that uſury is a " conceſſum propter du- " ritiem cordis:" for ſince there muſt be bor-

rowing and lending, and men are ſo hard of heart as they will not lend freely, uſury muſt be permitted. Some others have made ſuſpicious and cunning propoſitions of banks, diſcovery of men's eſtates, and other inventions; but few have ſpoken of uſury uſefully. It is good to ſet before us the incommodities and commodities of uſury, that the good may be either weighed out, or culled out: and warily to provide, that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worſe.

The diſcommodities of uſury are, firſt, that it makes fewer merchants; for were it not for this lazy trade of uſury, money would not lie ſtill, but would in great part be employed upon merchandizing; which is the "vena porta" of wealth in a ſtate: the ſecond, that it makes poor merchants; for as a farmer cannot huſband his ground ſo well if he ſit at a great rent, ſo the merchant cannot drive his trade ſo well if he ſit at great uſury: the third is incident to the other two; and that is, the decay of cuſtoms of kings or eſtates, which ebb or flow with merchandizing: the fourth, that it bringeth the treaſure of a realm or ſtate into a few

hands; for the uſurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game moſt of the money will be in the box; and ever a ſtate flouriſheth when wealth is more equally ſpread: the fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandizing, or purchaſing; and uſury waylays both: the ſixth, that it doth dull and damp all induſtries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be ſtirring, if it were not for this ſlug: the laſt, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's eſtates, which in proceſs of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other ſide, the commodities of uſury are firſt, that howſoever uſury in ſome reſpect hindereth merchandizing, yet in ſome other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greateſt part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at intereſt; ſo as if the uſurer either call in, or keep back his money, there will enſue preſently a great ſtand of trade: the ſecond is, that, were it not for this eaſy borrowing upon intereſt, men's neceſſities would draw upon them a moſt ſudden undoing, in that they would be forced to ſell their means,

(be it lands or goods,) far under foot; and ſo, whereas uſury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would ſwallow them quite up. As for mortgaging, or pawning, it will little mend the matter; for either men will not take pains without uſe; or if they do, they will look preciſely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country, that would ſay, "The devil take this uſury, it keeps us from "forfeitures of mortgages and bonds." The third and laſt is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impoſſible to conceive the number of inconveniencies that will enſue if borrowing be cramped: therefore to ſpeak of the aboliſhing of uſury is idle; all ſtates have ever had it in one kind or rate or other: ſo as that opinion muſt be ſent to Utopia.

To ſpeak now of the reformation and reglement of uſury; how the diſcommodities of it may be beſt avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears, by the balance of commodities and diſcommodities of uſury, two things are to be reconciled; the one, that the tooth of uſury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a

means to invite monied men to lend to the merchants for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two ſeveral ſorts of uſury, a leſs and a greater; for if you reduce uſury to one low rate, it will eaſe the common borrower, but the merchant will be to ſeek for money: and it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize being the moſt lucrative, may bear uſury at a great rate; other contracts not ſo.

To ſerve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus: that there be two rates of uſury; the one free and general for all; the other under licenſe only to certain perſons, and in certain places of merchandizing. Firſt, therefore, let uſury in general be reduced to five in the hundred; and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the ſtate ſhut itſelf out to take any penalty for the ſame: this will preſerve borrowing from any general ſtop or dryneſs; this will eaſe infinite borrowers in the country; this will in good part raiſe the price of land, becauſe land purchaſed at ſixteen years purchaſe, will yield ſix in the hundred and ſomewhat more, whereas this rate of intereſt yields but five: this by

like reaſon will encourage and edge induſtrious and profitable improvements, becauſe many will rather venture in that kind, than take five in the hundred, eſpecially having been uſed to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain perſons licenſed to lend to known merchants upon uſury at a high rate; and let it be with the cautions following; let the rate be, even with the merchant himſelf, ſomewhat more eaſy than that he uſed formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers ſhall have ſome eaſe by this reformation, be he merchant or whoſoever; let it be no bank, or common ſtock, but every man be maſter of his own money; not that I altogether diſlike banks, but they will hardly be brooked in regard of certain ſuſpicions. Let the ſtate be anſwered ſome ſmall matter for the licenſe, and the reſt left to the lender; for if the abatement be but ſmall, it will no whit diſcourage the lender; for he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will ſooner deſcend to eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of uſury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let theſe licenſed lenders be in number indefinite, but reſtrained to certain prin-

cipal cities and towns of merchandizing; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country; ſo as the licenſe of nine will not ſuck away the current rate of five; for no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a ſort authoriſe uſury, which before was in ſome places but permiſſive, the anſwer is, that it is better to mitigate uſury by declaration, than to ſuffer it to rage by connivance.

OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have loſt no time; but that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the firſt cogitations, not ſo wiſe as the ſecond: for there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages; and yet the invention of young men, is more lively than that of old; and imaginations ſtream into their minds better, and, as it were, more divinely. Natures, that have much heat, and great and violent deſires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have paſſed the

meridian of their years: as it was with Julius Cæſar and Septimius Severus: of the latter of whom it is ſaid, " juventutem egit, erroribus, " imo furoribus plenam;" and yet he was the ableſt emperor, almoſt, of all the liſt: but repoſed natures may do well in youth, as it is ſeen in Auguſtus Cæſar, Coſmus, duke of Florence, Gaſton de Fois, and others. On the other ſide, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent compoſition for buſineſs. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counſel; and fitter for new projects, than for ſettled buſineſs; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compaſs of it, directeth them; but, in new things abuſeth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of buſineſs; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or ſooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; ſtir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without conſideration of the means and degrees; purſue ſome few principles which they have chanced upon abſurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; uſe extreme reme-

dies at firſt; and that, which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready horſe, that will neither ſtop nor turn. Men of age object too much, conſult too long, adventure too little, repent too ſoon, and ſeldom drive buſineſs home to the full period; but content themſelves with a mediocrity of ſucceſs. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the preſent, becauſe the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for ſucceſſion, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, laſtly, good for external accidents, becauſe authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth: but for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the preeminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin upon the text, "Your young men ſhall ſee viſions, "and your old men ſhall dream dreams," inferreth, that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, becauſe viſion is a clearer revelation than a dream: and, certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth; and age doth profit rather in the powers of underſtanding, than in the virtues

of the will and affections. There be ſome have an over-early ripeneſs in their years, which fadeth betimes: theſe are, firſt, ſuch as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is ſoon turned; ſuch as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whoſe books are exceeding ſubtile, who afterwards waxed ſtupid: a ſecond ſort is of thoſe that have ſome natural diſpoſitions, which have better grace in youth than in age; ſuch as is a fluent and luxuriant ſpeech; which becomes youth well, but not age: ſo Tully ſaith of Hortenſius, "idem manebat, neque idem "decebat:" the third is of ſuch as take too high a ſtrain at the firſt; and are magnanimous, more than tract of years can uphold; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy ſaith in effect, "ultima primis cedebant."

OF BEAUTY.

VIRTUE is like a rich ſtone, beſt plain ſet; and ſurely virtue is beſt in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of preſence, than beauty of aſpect: neither is it almoſt ſeen, that very

beautiful perſons are otherwiſe of great virtue; as if nature were rather buſy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency; and therefore they prove accompliſhed, but not of great ſpirit; and ſtudy rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always; for Auguſtus Cæſar, Titus Veſpaſianus, Philip le Belle of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Iſmael the ſophy of Perſia, were all high and great ſpirits; and yet the moſt beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of favour. That is the beſt part of beauty which a picture cannot expreſs; no, nor the firſt ſight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not ſome ſtrangeneſs in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles, or Albert Durer, were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a perſonage by geometrical proportions; the other, by taking the beſt parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent. Such perſonages, I think, would pleaſe no body but the painter that made them: not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he muſt do it

by a kind of felicity, (as a muſician that maketh an excellent air in muſic,) and not by rule. A man ſhall ſee faces, that, if you examine them part by part, you ſhall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though perſons in years ſeem many times more amiable; "pul-"chrorum autumnus pulcher;" for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and conſidering the youth as to make up the comelineſs. Beauty is as ſummer-fruits, which are eaſy to corrupt, and cannot laſt; and, for the moſt part, it makes a diſſolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtues ſhine, and vices bluſh.

OF DEFORMITY.

Deformed perſons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, ſo do they by nature, being for the moſt part, (as the ſcripture ſaith,) "void of natural affec-"tion;" and ſo they have their revenge of

nature. Certainly there is a conſent between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one, ſhe ventureth in the other; "ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero:" but becauſe there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a neceſſity in the frame of his body, the ſtars of natural inclination are ſometimes obſcured by the ſun of diſcipline and virtue; therefore it is good to conſider of deformity, not as a ſign which is more deceivable, but as a cauſe which ſeldom faileth of the effect. Whoſoever hath any thing fixed in his perſon that doth induce contempt, hath alſo a perpetual ſpur in himſelf to reſcue and deliver himſelf from ſcorn; therefore all deformed perſons are extreme bold; firſt, as in their own defence, as being expoſed to ſcorn; but in proceſs of time by a general habit. Alſo it ſtirreth in them induſtry, and eſpecially of this kind, to watch and obſerve the weakneſs of others, that they may have ſomewhat to repay. Again, in their ſuperiors, it quencheth jealouſy towards them, as perſons that they think they may at pleaſure deſpiſe; and it layeth their competitors and emulators aſleep, as never believing they

ſhould be in poſſibility of advancement till they ſee them in poſſeſſion: ſo that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to riſing. Kings in ancient times, (and at this preſent in ſome countries,) were wont to put great truſt in eunuchs, becauſe they that are envious towards all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one: but yet their truſt towards them hath rather been as to good ſpials, and good whiſperers, than good magiſtrates and officers: and much like is the reaſon of deformed perſons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of ſpirit, ſeek to free themſelves from ſcorn; which muſt be either by virtue or malice: and, therefore, let it not be marvelled if ſometimes they prove excellent perſons; as was Ageſilaus, Zanger the ſon of Solyman, Æſop, Gaſca, preſident of Peru; and Socrates may go likewiſe amongſt them, with others.

OF BUILDING.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let uſe be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houſes, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with ſmall coſt. He, that builds a fair houſe upon an ill ſeat, committeth himſelf to priſon: neither do I reckon it an ill ſeat only, where the air is unwholeſome, but likewiſe where the air is unequal; as you ſhall ſee many fine ſeats ſet upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it, whereby the heat of the ſun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; ſo as you ſhall have, and that ſuddenly, as great diverſity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in ſeveral places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill ſeat; but ill ways, ill markets; and, if you will conſult with Momus, ill neighbours. I ſpeak not of many more; want of water; want of wood, ſhade, and ſhelter: want of fruitfulneſs, and mixture of grounds of ſe-

veral natures; want of proſpect; want of level grounds; want of places at ſome near diſtance for ſports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the ſea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the diſcommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder buſineſs; or too near them, which lurcheth all proviſions, and maketh every thing dear; where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is ſcanted; all which, as it is impoſſible perhaps to find together, ſo it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can; and, if he have ſeveral dwellings, that he ſort them ſo, that what he wanteth in the one, he may find in the other. Lucullus anſwered Pompey well, who, when he ſaw his ſtately galleries and rooms ſo large and lightſome in one of his houſes, ſaid, "Surely an "excellent place for ſummer, but how do you "in winter?" Lucullus anſwered, "Why do "you not think me as wiſe as ſome fowls are, "that ever change their abode towards the "winter?"

To paſs from the ſeat to the houſe itſelf, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art,

who writes books De Oratore, and a book he entitles Orator; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore deſcribe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof: for it is ſtrange to ſee, now in Europe, ſuch huge buildings as the Vatican and Eſcurial and ſome others be, and yet ſcarce a very fair room in them.

Firſt, therefore, I ſay you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two ſeveral ſides; a ſide for the banquet, as is ſpoken of in the book of Eſther, and a ſide for the houſehold; the one for feaſts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I underſtand both theſe ſides to be not only returns, but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though ſeverally partitioned within; and to be on both ſides of a great and ſtately tower in the midſt of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I would have, on the ſide of the banquet in front, one only goodly room above ſtairs, of ſome forty foot high; and under it a room for a dreſſing or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other ſide, which is the houſehold ſide, I wiſh it di-

vided at the firſt into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between,) both of good ſtate and bigneſs; and thoſe not to go all the length, but to have at the farther end a winter and a ſummer parlour, both fair; and under theſe rooms a fair and large cellar ſunk under ground; and likewiſe ſome privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two ſtories, of eighteen foot high apiece above the two wings; and goodly leads upon the top, raiſed with ſtatues interpoſed; and the ſame tower to be divided into rooms as ſhall be thought fit. The ſtairs likewiſe to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood caſt into a braſs colour; and a very fair landing place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of ſervants; for, otherwiſe, you ſhall have the ſervants dinner after your own; for the ſteam of it will come up as in a tunnel; and ſo much for the front: only I underſtand the height of the firſt ſtairs to be ſixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court,

but three ſides of it of a far lower building than the front; and in all the four corners of that court fair ſtair-caſes, caſt into turrets on the outſide, and not within the row of buildings themſelves: but thoſe towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that ſtriketh up a great heat in ſummer, and much cold in winter; but only ſome ſide alleys with a croſs, and the quarters to graze, being kept ſhorn, but not too near ſhorn. The row of return on the banquet ſide, let it be all ſtately galleries; in which galleries let there be three, or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal diſtance, and fine coloured windows of ſeveral works: on the houſehold ſide, chambers of preſence and ordinary entertainments, with ſome bed-chambers; and let all three ſides be a double houſe, without thorough lights on the ſides, that you may have rooms from the ſun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Caſt it alſo, that you may have rooms both for ſummer and winter; ſhady for ſummer, and warm for winter. You ſhall have ſometimes fair houſes ſo full of glaſs that one cannot tell

where to become to be out of the ſun or cold. For embowed windows, I hold them of good uſe; (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in reſpect of the uniformity towards the ſtreet;) for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and, beſides, they keep both the wind and ſun off; for that which would ſtrike almoſt through the room, doth ſcarce paſs the window: but let them be but few, four in the court, on the ſides only.

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court of the ſame ſquare and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all ſides; and, in the inſide, cloiſtered on all ſides upon decent and beautiful arches as high as the firſt ſtory: on the under ſtory towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of ſhade or eſtivation; and only have opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit ſunk under ground, to avoid all dampiſhneſs: and let there be a fountain or ſome fair work of ſtatues in the midſt of this court, and to be paved as the other court was. Theſe buildings to be for privy lodgings on both ſides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you muſt foreſee that one of them be for an infir-

mary, if the prince or any ſpecial perſon ſhould be ſick, with chambers, bed chamber, "anteca-mera," and "recamera," joining to it; this upon the ſecond ſtory. Upon the ground ſtory, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third ſtory likewiſe, an open gallery upon pillars, to take the proſpect and freſhneſs of the garden. At both corners of the farther ſide, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with cryſtalline glaſs, and a rich cupola in the midſt; and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery too, I wiſh that there may be, if the place will yield it, ſome fountains running in divers places from the wall, with ſome fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace; ſave that you muſt have, before you come to the front, three courts; a green court plain, with a wall about it; a ſecond court of the ſame, but more garniſhed with little turrets, or rather embelliſhments upon the wall; and a third court, to make a ſquare with the front, but not to be built, nor yet encloſed with a naked wall, but encloſed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garniſhed

on the three ſides; and cloiſtered on the inſide with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them ſtand at diſtance, with ſome low galleries to paſs from them to the palace itſelf.

OF GARDENS.

God Almighty firſt planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the pureſt of human pleaſures; it is the greateſt refreſhment to the ſpirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but groſs handyworks: and a man ſhall ever ſee, that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build ſtately, ſooner than to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year; in which, ſeverally, things of beauty may be then in ſeaſon. For December and January, and the latter part of November, you muſt take ſuch things as are green all winter; holly; ivy; bays; juniper; cypreſs trees; yew; pines; fir-trees; roſemary; lavender; periwinkle, the white, the

purple, and the blue; germander; flags; orange trees; lemon trees, and myrtles, if they be ſtoved; and ſweet marjoram warm ſet. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon tree, which then bloſſoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroſes; anemones; the early tulip; hyacinthus orientalis; chamaïris; fritellaria. For March there come violets, eſpecially the ſingle blue, which are the earlieſt; the early daffodil; the daiſy; the almond tree in bloſſom; the peach tree in bloſſom; the cornelian tree in bloſſom; ſweet-briar. In April follow the double white violet; the wall-flower; the ſtock-gilliflower; the cowſlip; flower-de-luces; and lilies of all natures; roſemary-flowers; the tulip; the double peony; the pale daffodil; the French honeyſuckle; the cherry tree in bloſſom; the damaſcene and plum trees in bloſſom; the white thorn in leaf; the lilac tree. In May and June come pinks of all ſorts, eſpecially the bluſh pink; roſes of all kinds, except the muſk, which comes later; honeyſuckles; ſtrawberries; bugloſs; columbine; the French marygold; flos Africanus; cherry tree in fruit; ribes; figs in fruit; raſps; vine flowers;

lavender in flowers; the ſweet ſatyrian, with the white flower; herba muſcaria; lilium convallium; the apple tree in bloſſom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties; muſk roſes; the lime tree in bloſſom; early pears, and plums in fruit; gennitings; codlins. In Auguſt come plums of all ſorts in fruit; pears; apricots; berberies; filberds; muſkmelons; monks-hoods of all colours. In September come grapes; apples; poppeys of all colours; peaches; melocotones; nectarines; cornelians; wardens; quinces. In October and the beginning of November, come ſervices; medlars; bullaces; roſes cut or removed to come late; hollyoaks; and ſuch like. Theſe particulars are for the climate of London: but my meaning is perceived, that you may have "ver perpetuum," as the place affords.

And becauſe the breath of flowers is far ſweeter in the air, (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of muſic,) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do beſt perfume the air. Roſes, damaſk and red, are faſt flowers of their ſmells; ſo that you may walk by a whole row of them,

and find nothing of their ſweetneſs; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays, likewiſe, yield no ſmell as they grow, roſemary little, nor ſweet marjoram; that which, above all others, yields the ſweeteſt ſmell in the air, is the violet; eſpecially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the muſk-roſe; then the ſtrawberry leaves dying, with a moſt excellent cordial ſmell; then the flower of the vines; it is a little duſt like the duſt of a bent, which grows upon the cluſter in the firſt coming forth; then ſweet-briar, then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be ſet under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, eſpecially the matted pink, and clove gilliflower; then the flowers of the lime tree; then the honey-ſuckles, ſo they be ſomewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I ſpeak not, becauſe they are field flowers: but thoſe which perfume the air moſt delightfully, not paſſed by as the reſt, but being trodden upon and cruſhed, are three: that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water-mints; therefore you are to ſet whole alleys of

them, to have the pleaſure when you walk or tread.

For gardens, (ſpeaking of thoſe which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings,) the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath or deſert in the going forth, and the main garden in the midſt, beſides alleys on both ſides; and I like well, that four acres of ground be aſſigned to the green, ſix to the heath, four and four to either ſide, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleaſures; the one, becauſe nothing is more pleaſant to the eye than green graſs kept finely ſhorn; the other, becauſe it will give you a fair alley in the midſt, by which you may go in front upon a ſtately hedge, which is to incloſe the garden: but becauſe the alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year or day, you ought not to buy the ſhade in the garden by going in the ſun through the green; therefore you are, of either ſide the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in ſhade into the garden. As for the

making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the houſe on that ſide which the garden ſtands, they be but toys; you may ſee as good ſights many times in tarts. The garden is beſt to be ſquare, encompaſſed on all the four ſides with a ſtately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of ſome ten foot high, and ſix foot broad; and the ſpaces between of the ſame dimenſion with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of ſome four foot high, framed alſo upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turnet, with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds; and over every ſpace between the arches ſome other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glaſs gilt, for the ſun to play upon: but this hedge I intend to be raiſed upon a bank, not ſteep, but gently ſlope, of ſome ſix foot, ſet all with flowers. Alſo I underſtand, that this ſquare of the garden ſhould not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either ſide ground enough for diverſity of ſide alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of

the green may deliver you; but there muſt be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great encloſure; not at the hither end, for letting your proſpect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the farther end, for letting your proſpect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; adviſing, nevertheleſs, that whatſoever form you caſt it into firſt, it be not too buſy or full of work: wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden ſtuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round like welts, with ſome pretty pyramids, I like well; and in ſome places fair columns upon frames of carpenter's work. I would alſo have the alleys ſpacious and fair. You may have cloſer alleys upon the ſide grounds, but none in the main garden. I wiſh alſo, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three aſcents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreaſt; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or emboſments; and the whole mount to be thirty feet high; and ſome fine banqueting houſe, with ſome chim-

neys neatly caſt, and without too much glaſs.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreſhment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholeſome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures; the one that ſprinkleth or ſpouteth water; the other a fair receipt of water of ſome thirty or forty feet ſquare, but without fiſh, or ſlime, or mud. For the firſt, the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in uſe, do well: but the main matter is ſo to convey the water, as it never ſtay either in the bowls or in the ciſtern; that the water be never by reſt diſcoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any moſſineſs or putrefaction; beſides that, it is to be cleanſed every day by the hand: alſo ſome ſteps up to it, and ſome fine pavement about it do well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curioſity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourſelves; as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the ſides likewiſe; and withal embelliſhed with coloured glaſs, and ſuch things of luſtre; encompaſſed alſo with fine rails of low ſtatues:

but the main point is the ſame which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair ſpouts, and then diſcharged away under ground by ſome equality of bores, that it ſtay little; and for fine devices of arching water without ſpilling, and making it riſe in ſeveral forms, (of feathers, drinking glaſſes, canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and ſweetneſs.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wiſh it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildneſs. Trees I would have none in it, but ſome thickets made only of ſweetbriar and honeyſuckle, and ſome wild vine amongſt; and the ground ſet with violets, ſtrawberries, and primroſes; for theſe are ſweet, and proſper in the ſhade; and theſe are to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like alſo little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills, (ſuch as are in wild heaths,) to be ſet, ſome with wild thyme; ſome with pinks; ſome with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; ſome with periwinkle; ſome with

violets; ſome with ſtrawberries; ſome with cowſlips; ſome with daiſies; ſome with red roſes; ſome with lilium convallium; ſome with ſweet-williams red; ſome with bears-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal ſweet and ſightly: part of which heaps to be with ſtandards of little buſhes pricked upon their top, and part without: the ſtandards to be roſes, juniper, holly, berberies, (but here and there, becauſe of the ſmell of their bloſſom,) red currants, gooſeberries, roſemary, bays, ſweetbriar, and ſuch like; but theſe ſtandards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of courſe.

For the ſide grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys private, to give a full ſhade; ſome of them whereſoever the ſun be. You are to frame ſome of them likewiſe for ſhelter, that when the wind blows ſharp, you may walk as in a gallery: and thoſe alleys muſt be likewiſe hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and theſe cloſer alleys muſt be ever finely gravelled, and no graſs, becauſe of going wet. In many of theſe alleys, likewiſe, you are to ſet fruit trees of all ſorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges; and this ſhould be generally

obſerved, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit trees be fair and large and low, and not ſteep; and ſet with fine flowers, but thin and ſparingly, leſt they deceive the trees. At the end of both the ſide grounds I would have a mount of ſome pretty height, leaving the wall of the encloſure breaſt high to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there ſhould be ſome fair alleys, ranged on both ſides with fruit trees, and ſome pretty tufts of fruit trees and arbours with ſeats, ſet in ſome decent order; but theſe to be by no means ſet too thick, but to leave the main garden ſo as it be not cloſe, but the air open and free. For as for ſhade, I would have you reſt upon the alleys of the ſide grounds, there to walk, if you be diſpoſed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account, that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and, in the heat of ſummer, for the morning and the evening, or overcaſt days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeneſs as they may be turfed, and have living plants and buſhes ſet in them; that the birds may have more ſcope and natural

neſtling, and that no foulneſs appear on the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing; not a model, but ſome general lines of it; and in this I have ſpared for no coſt: but it is nothing for great princes, that, for the moſt part taking advice with workmen, with no leſs coſt ſet their things together; and ſometimes add ſtatues and ſuch things for ſtate and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleaſure of a garden.

OF NEGOCIATING.

It is generally better to deal by ſpeech, than by letter; and by the mediation of a third, than by a man's ſelf. Letters are good, when a man would draw an anſwer by letter back again; or when it may ſerve for a man's juſtification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be in danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in perſon is good when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender caſes, where a man's eye upon the countenance of

him, with whom he ſpeaketh, may give him a direction how far to go; and generally where a man will reſerve to himſelf liberty, either to diſavow or to expound. In choice of inſtruments, it is better to chooſe men of a plainer ſort, that are like to do that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the ſucceſs, than thoſe, that are cunning to contrive, out of other men's buſineſs, ſomewhat to grace themſelves, and will help the matter in report for ſatisfaction ſake. Uſe alſo ſuch perſons as affect the buſineſs wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and ſuch as are fit for the matter; as bold men for expoſtulation, fair-ſpoken men for perſuaſion, crafty men for inquiry and obſervation, froward and abſurd men for buſineſs that doth not well bear out itſelf. Uſe alſo ſuch as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things, wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will ſtrive to maintain their preſcription. It is better to ſound a perſon, with whom one deals, afar off, than to fall upon the point at firſt; except you mean to ſurpriſe him by ſome ſhort queſtion. It is better dealing with men in appetite, than

with thoſe that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the ſtart of firſt performance is all; which a man cannot reaſonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be ſuch which muſt go before; or elſe a man can perſuade the other party, that he ſhall ſtill need him in ſome other thing; or elſe that he be counted the honeſter man. All practice is to diſcover, or to work. Men diſcover themſelves in truſt; in paſſion; at unawares; and of neceſſity, when they would have ſomewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you muſt either know his nature and faſhions, and ſo lead him; or his ends, and ſo perſuade him; or his weakneſs and diſadvantages, and ſo awe him; or thoſe that have intereſt in him, and ſo govern him. In dealing with cunning perſons, we muſt ever conſider their ends to interpret their ſpeeches; and it is good to ſay little to them, and that which they leaſt look for. In all negociations of difficulty, a man may not look to ſow and reap at once; but muſt prepare buſineſs, and ſo ripen it by degrees.

OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

Costly followers are not to be liked; leſt while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings ſhorter. I reckon to be coſtly, not them alone which charge the purſe, but which are wearifome and importune in ſuits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worſe to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him, with whom they range themſelves, but upon diſcontentment conceived againſt ſome other; whereupon commonly enſueth that ill intelligence that we many times ſee between great perſonages. Likewiſe glorious followers, who make themſelves as trumpets of the commendation of thoſe they follow, are full of inconvenience; for they taint buſineſs through want of ſecrecy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers, likewiſe, which are dangerous, being indeed eſpials; which inquire the ſecrets of the houſe, and

bear tales of them to others; yet ſuch men many times are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain eſtates of men, anſwerable to that which a great perſon himſelf profeſſeth, (as of ſoldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like,) hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies; ſo it be without too much pomp or popularity: but the moſt honourable kind of following, is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and deſert in all ſorts of perſons; and yet where there is no eminent odds in ſufficiency, it is better to take with the more paſſable, than with the more able; and, beſides, to ſpeak truth in baſe times, active men are of more uſe than virtuous. It is true, that in government, it is good to uſe men of one rank equally; for to countenance ſome extraordinarily, is to make them inſolent, and the reſt diſcontent; becauſe they may claim a due: but contrariwiſe in favour, to uſe men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the perſons preferred more thankful, and the reſt more officious; becauſe all is of favour. It is good

diſcretion not to make too much of any man at the firſt; becauſe one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed, (as we call it,) by one, is not ſafe; for it ſhews ſoftneſs, and gives a freedom to ſcandal and diſreputation; for thoſe that would not cenſure, or ſpeak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of thoſe that are ſo great with them, and thereby wound their honour; yet to be diſtracted with many is worſe; for it makes men to be of the laſt impreſſion, and full of change. To take advice of ſome few friends is ever honourable; for lookers on many times ſee more than gameſters; and the vale beſt diſcovereth the hill. There is little friendſhip in the world, and leaſt of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between ſuperior and inferior, whoſe fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

OF SUITORS.

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private ſuits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad

minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace ſuits which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they ſee there may be life in the matter by ſome other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a ſecond reward, or, at leaſt, to make uſe in the mean time of the ſuitor's hopes. Some take hold of ſuits only for an occaſion to croſs ſome other; or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwiſe have apt pretext, without care what become of the ſuit when that turn is ſerved; or generally, to make other men's buſineſs a kind of entertainment to bring in their own: nay, ſome undertake ſuits with a full purpoſe to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverſe party or competitor. Surely there is in ſome ſort a right in every ſuit; either a right of equity, if it be a ſuit of controverſy; or a right of deſert, if it be a ſuit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong ſide in juſtice, let him rather uſe his countenance to compound the matter, than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the leſs worthy in deſert, let him do it without depraving or diſabling the

better deſerver. In ſuits which a man doth not well underſtand, it is good to refer them to ſome friend of truſt and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour; but let him chooſe well his referendaries, for elſe he may be led by the noſe. Suitors are ſo diſtaſted with delays and abuſes, that plain dealing in denying to deal in ſuits at firſt, and reporting the ſucceſs barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deſerved, is grown not only honourable, but alſo gracious. In ſuits of favour, the firſt coming ought to take little place; ſo far forth conſideration may be had of his truſt, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwiſe have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means; and in ſome ſort recompenſed for his diſcovery. To be ignorant of the value of a ſuit, is ſimplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of conſcience. Secrecy in ſuits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardneſs, may diſcourage ſome kind of ſuitors; but doth quicken and awake others: but timing of the ſuit is the principal; timing I ſay, not

only in reſpect of the perſon, that ſhould grant it, but in reſpect of thoſe, which are like to croſs it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather chooſe the fitteſt mean, than the greateſt mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than thoſe that are general. The reparation of a denial is ſometimes equal to the firſt grant, if a man ſhew himſelf neither dejected nor diſcontented. "Iniquum petas, ut "æquum feras," is a good rule where a man hath ſtrength of favour: but, otherwiſe, a man were better riſe in his ſuit; for he that would have ventured at firſt to have loſt the ſuitor, will not, in the concluſion, loſe both the ſuitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought ſo eaſy a requeſt to a great perſon, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cauſe, it is ſo much out of his reputation. There are no worſe inſtruments than theſe general contrivers of ſuits; for they are but a kind of poiſon and infection to public proceedings.

OF STUDIES.

STUDIES ſerve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief uſe for delight, is in privateneſs and retiring; for ornament, is in diſcourſe; and for ability, is in the judgment and diſpoſition of buſineſs: for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one: but the general counſels, and the plots and marſhalling of affairs come beſt from thoſe that are learned. To ſpend too much time in ſtudies, is ſloth; to uſe them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a ſcholar: they perfect nature, and are perfect by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by ſtudy; and ſtudies themſelves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn ſtudies, ſimple men admire them, and wiſe men uſe them; for they teach not their own uſe; but that is a wiſdom without them, and above them, won by obſervation. Read not to con-

tradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and diſcourſe, but to weigh and conſider. Some books are to be taſted, others to be ſwallowed, and ſome few to be chewed and digeſted: that is, ſome books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiouſly; and ſome few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books alſo may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the leſs important arguments, and the meaner ſort of books; elſe diſtilled books are, like common diſtilled waters, flaſhy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man; and, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a preſent wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to ſeem to know that he doth not. Hiſtories make men wiſe; poets witty; the mathematic ſubtile; natural philoſophy deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend; "Abeunt ſtudia in mores:" nay, there is no ſtond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit ſtudies: like as diſeaſes

of the body may have appropriate exerciſes; bowling is good for the ſtone and reins; ſhooting for the lungs and breaſt; gentle walking for the ſtomach; riding for the head, and the like; ſo if a man's wit be wandering, let him ſtudy the mathematics; for in demonſtrations, if his wit be called away never ſo little, he muſt begin again; if his wit be not apt to diſtinguiſh or find differences, let him ſtudy the ſchoolmen; for they are "Cymini ſec-"tores;" if he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call upon one thing to prove and illuſtrate another, let him ſtudy the lawyers caſes: ſo every defect of the mind may have a ſpecial receipt.

OF FACTION.

MANY have an opinion not wiſe, that for a prince to govern his eſtate, or for a great perſon to govern his proceedings, according to the reſpect to factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwiſe, the chiefeſt wiſdom is, either in ordering thoſe things which are general, and wherein men of ſeveral factions do

nevertheleſs agree, or in dealing with correſpondence to particular perſons, one by one: but I ſay not, that the conſideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their riſing, muſt adhere; but great men, that have ſtrength in themſelves, were better to maintain themſelves indifferent and neutral: yet even in beginners, to adhere ſo moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is moſt paſſable with the other, commonly giveth beſt way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often ſeen, that a few that are ſtiff, do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguiſhed, the remaining ſubdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the reſt of the nobles of the ſenate, (which they called "optimates,") held out a while againſt the faction of Pompey and Cæſar; but when the ſenate's authority was pulled down, Cæſar and Pompey ſoon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæſar, againſt Brutus and Caſſius, held out likewiſe for a time; but when Brutus and Caſſius were overthrown, then ſoon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and ſubdivided. Theſe ex-

amples are of wars, but the ſame holdeth in private factions: and, therefore, thoſe that are ſeconds in factions, do many times, when the faction ſubdivideth, prove principals; but many times alſo they prove cyphers and caſhiered; for many a man's ſtrength is in oppoſition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of uſe. It is commonly ſeen, that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter; thinking, belike, that they have the firſt ſure, and now are ready for a new purchaſe. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have ſtuck long in balancing, the winning of ſome one man caſteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueneſs to a man's ſelf, with end to make uſe of both. Certainly, in Italy they hold it a little ſuſpect in popes, when they have often in their mouth "Padre commune;" and take it to be a ſign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatneſs of his own houſe. Kings had need beware how they ſide themſelves, and make themſelves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the ſtate are ever pernicious to

monarchies; for they raiſe an obligation paramount to obligation of ſovereignty, and make the king, "tanquam unus ex nobis;" as was to be ſeen in the league of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a ſign of weakneſs in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and buſineſs. The motions of factions under kings, ought to be like the motions, (as the aſtronomers ſpeak,) of the inferior orbs; which may have their proper motions, but yet ſtill are quietly carried by the higher motion of "primum mobile."

OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

He that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the ſtone had need to be rich that is ſet without foil: but if a man mark it well, it is in praiſe and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains; for the proverb is true, "That light gains make heavy "purſes;" for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then: ſo it is true, that ſmall matters win great commendation,

becauſe they are continually in uſe and in note; whereas the occaſion of any great virtue cometh but on feſtivals: therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is, (as queen Iſabella ſaid,) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms: to attain them, it almoſt ſufficeth not to deſpiſe them; for ſo ſhall a man obſerve them in others; and let him truſt himſelf with the reſt: for if he labour too much to expreſs them, he ſhall loſe their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verſe, wherein every ſyllable is meaſured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to ſmall obſervations? Not to uſe ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to uſe them again; and ſo diminiſheth reſpect to himſelf; eſpecially they be not to be omitted to ſtrangers and formal natures: but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminiſh the faith and credit of him that ſpeaks; and, certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting paſſages amongſt compliments, which is of ſingular uſe if a man can hit upon it. Amongſt a man's

peers, a man ſhall be ſure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep ſtate: amongſt a man's inferiors, one ſhall be ſure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, ſo that he giveth another occaſion of ſociety, maketh himſelf cheap. To apply oneſelf to others, is good; ſo it be with demonſtration, that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept, generally in ſeconding another, yet to add ſomewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with ſome diſtinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counſel, let it be with alledging farther reaſon. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never ſo ſufficient otherwiſe, their enviers will be ſure to give them that attribute, to the diſadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loſs alſo in buſineſs to be too full of reſpects, or to be too curious in obſerving times and opportunities. Solomon ſaith, "He that "conſidereth the wind ſhall not ſow, and he "that looketh to the clouds ſhall not reap." A wiſe man will make more opportunities

than he finds. Men's behaviour ſhould be like their apparel; not too ſtrait or point device, but free for exerciſe or motion.

OF PRAISE.

Praise is the reflection of virtue; but it is as the glaſs or body which giveth the reflection: if it be from the common people, it is commonly falſe and nought, and rather followeth vain perſons, than virtuous; for the common people underſtand not many excellent virtues: the loweſt virtues draw praiſe from them, the middle virtues work in them aſtoniſhment or admiration; but of the higheſt virtues they have no ſenſe or perceiving at all; but ſhews, and "ſpecies virtutibus ſimiles," ſerve beſt with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and ſwollen, and drowns things weighty and ſolid; but if perſons of quality and judgment concur, then it is, (as the ſcripture ſaith,) "Nomen bonum "inſtar unguenti fragrantis;" it filleth all round about, and will not eaſily away; for the odours of ointments are more durable than

thoſe of flowers. There be ſo many falſe points of praiſe, that a man may juſtly hold it in ſuſpect. Some praiſes proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may ſerve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's ſelf, and wherein a man thinketh beſt of himſelf, therein the flatterer will uphold him moſt: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conſcious to himſelf that he is moſt defective, and is moſt out of countenance in himſelf, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce, "ſpreta conſci-"entia." Some praiſes come of good wiſhes and reſpects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great perſons, "laudando præcipere;" when by telling men what they are, they repreſent to them what they ſhould be: ſome men are praiſed maliciouſly to their hurt, thereby to ſtir envy and jealouſy towards them; "peſſimum genus inimicorum laudantium;" inſomuch as it was a proverb amongſt the Grecians that, "He that was praiſed to his "hurt, ſhould have a puſh riſe upon his noſe;" as we ſay, that a bliſter will riſe upon one's

tongue that tells a lie; certainly, moderate praiſe, uſed with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Solomon ſaith, "He that praiſeth his friend aloud riſing early, "it ſhall be to him no better than a curſe." Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and ſcorn. To praiſe a man's ſelf cannot be decent, except it be in rare caſes; but to praiſe a man's office or profeſſion, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues and friars and ſchoolmen, have a phraſe of notable contempt and ſcorn towards civil buſineſs; for they call all temporal buſineſs of wars, embaſſages, judicature, and other employments, ſhirrerie, which is under ſheriffries, as if they were but matters for under-ſheriffs and catchpoles; though many times thoſe under-ſheriffries do more good than their high ſpeculations. St. Paul, when he boaſts of himſelf, doth oft interlace, "I ſpeak like a fool;" but ſpeaking of his calling, he ſaith, "magnificabo apoſtolatum meum."

OF VAIN GLORY.

It was prettily deviſed of Æſop; the fly ſat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and ſaid, "What a duſt do I raiſe?" So are there ſome vain perſons, that, whatſoever goeth alone or moveth upon greater means, if they have never ſo little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious muſt needs be factious; for all bravery ſtands upon compariſons. They muſt needs be violent to make good their own vaunts: neither can they be ſecret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the French proverb, "beaucoup de "bruit, peu de fruit;" "much bruit, little "fruit." Yet, certainly, there is uſe of this quality in civil affairs: where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatneſs, theſe men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the caſe of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are ſometimes great effects of croſs lies; as if a man that negociates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war againſt the third, doth

extol the forces of either of them above meaſure, the one to the other: and ſometimes, he that deals between man and man raiſeth his own credit with both, by pretending greater intereſt than he hath in either: and in theſe, and the like kinds, it often falls out, that ſomewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are ſufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on ſubſtance. In military commanders and ſoldiers vain glory is an eſſential point; for as iron ſharpens iron, ſo by glory one courage ſharpeneth another. In caſes of great enterprize upon charge and adventure, a compoſition of glorious natures doth put life into buſineſs; and thoſe, that are of ſolid and ſober natures, have more of the ballaſt than of the ſail. In fame of learning the flight will be ſlow without ſome feathers of oſtentation; "Qui de "contemnenda gloria libros ſcribunt, nomen "ſuum inſcribunt." Socrates, Ariſtotle, Galen, were men full of oſtentation: certainly vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never ſo beholden to human nature, as it received its due at the ſecond hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus borne her age ſo well if it

had not been joined with ſome vanity in themſelves; like unto varniſh, that makes ceilings not only ſhine, but laſt. But all this while, when I ſpeak of vain glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus; "Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte "quadam oſtentator:" for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and diſcretion; and, in ſome perſons, is not only comely, but gracious: for excuſations, ceſſions, modeſty itſelf well governed are but arts of oſtentation; and amongſt thoſe arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus ſpeaketh of; which is to be liberal of praiſe and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's ſelf hath any perfection: for ſaith Pliny very wittily, "In commending another you do "yourſelf right;" for he that you commend is either ſuperior to you in that you commend, or inferior; if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be ſuperior, if he be not to be commended, you much leſs glorious. Men are the ſcorn of wiſe men, the admiration of fools, the idols of paraſites, and the ſlaves of their own vaunts.

OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

The winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without diſadvantage; for ſome in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which ſort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and ſome, contrariwiſe, darken their virtue in the ſhew of it; ſo as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been atchieved, but not with ſo good circumſtance, he ſhall purchaſe more honour than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty, or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man ſo temper his actions, as in ſome one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the muſic will be the fuller. A man is an ill huſband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may diſgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickeſt reflec-

tion, like diamonds cut with faſcets; and, therefore, let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in out-ſhooting them if he can in their own bow. Diſcreet followers and ſervants help much to reputation; "Omnis fama a domeſticis emanat." Envy, which is the canker of honour, is beſt diſtinguiſhed by declaring a man's ſelf in his ends, rather to ſeek merit than fame; and by attributing a man's ſucceſſes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marſhalling of the degrees of ſovereign honour are theſe: in the firſt place are "conditores imperiorum," founders of ſtates and commonwealths; ſuch as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæſar, Ottoman, Iſmael: in the ſecond place are "legiſlatores," lawgivers; which are alſo called ſecond founders, or "perpetui principes," becauſe they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; ſuch were Lycurgus, Solon, Juſtinian, Edgar, Alphonſus of Caſtile, the wiſe, that made the "Siete patridas:" in the third place are "liberatores," or "ſalvatores;" ſuch as compound the long miſeries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from ſervitude of ſtrangers

or tyrants; as Auguſtus Cæſar, Veſpaſianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, king Henry the ſeventh of England, king Henry the fourth of France: in the fourth place are "propaga-"tores," or "propugnatores imperii;" ſuch as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence againſt invaders: and in the laſt place, are "patres patriæ," which reign juſtly, and make the times good wherein they live; both which laſt kinds need no examples, they are in ſuch number. Degrees of honour in ſubjects are firſt, "participes cu-"rarum," thoſe upon whom princes do diſcharge the greateſt weight of their affairs; their right hands, as we call them: the next are, "duces belli," great leaders; ſuch as are princes lieutenants, and do them notable ſervices in the wars: the third are, "gratioſi," favourites; ſuch as exceed not this ſcantling, to be ſolace to the ſovereign, and harmleſs to the people: and the fourth, "negotiis pares;" ſuch as have great places under princes, and execute their places with ſufficiency. There is an honour, likewiſe, which may be ranked amongſt the greateſt, which happeneth rarely; that is, of ſuch as ſacrifice themſelves to death

or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

OF JUDICATURE.

Judges ought to remember that their office is "jus dicere," and not "jus dare;" to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law: elſe will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome; which, under pretext of expoſition of ſcripture, doth not ſtick to add and alter; and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by ſhew of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plauſible, and more adviſed than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. Curſed, (ſaith the law,) "Is he that "removeth the landmark." The miſlayer of a mere ſtone is to blame; but it is the unjuſt judge that is the capital remover of landmarks when he defineth amiſs of lands and property. One foul ſentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for theſe do but corrupt the ſtream, the other corrupteth the fountain: ſo

ſaith Solomon; "Fons turbatus, et vena cor-
"rupta eſt juſtus cadens in cauſa ſua coram
"adverſario." The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that ſue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and miniſters of juſtice underneath them, and to the ſovereign or ſtate above them.

Firſt, for the cauſes or parties that ſue. There be, (ſaith the ſcripture,) "that turn "judgment into wormwood;" and ſurely there be alſo that turn it into vinegar; for injuſtice maketh it bitter, and delays make it ſour. The principal duty of a judge, is to ſuppreſs force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open; and fraud when it is cloſe and diſguiſed. Add thereto contentious ſuits, which ought to be ſpewed out, as the ſurfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a juſt ſentence, as God uſeth to prepare his way, by raiſing valleys and taking down hills: ſo when there appeareth on either ſide an high hand, violent proſecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counſel, then is the virtue of a judge ſeen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. "Qui for-

" titer emungit, elicit ſanguinem;" and where the wine-preſs is hard wrought, it yields a harſh wine that taſtes of the grape-ſtone. Judges muſt beware of hard conſtructions, and ſtrained inferences; for there is no worſe torture than the torture of laws: eſpecially in caſe of laws penal, they ought to have care, that that, which was meant for terror, be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that ſhower whereof the ſcripture ſpeaketh, " Pluet ſuper eos laqueos;" for penal laws preſſed, are a ſhower of ſnares upon the people: therefore let penal laws, if they have been ſleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the preſent time, be by wiſe judges confined in the execution; " Judicis officium eſt, " ut res, ita tempora rerum," &c. In cauſes of life and death judges ought, (as far as the law permitteth,) in juſtice to remember mercy, and to caſt a ſevere eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the perſon.

Secondly, for the advocates and counſel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an eſſential part of juſtice; and an over-ſpeaking judge is no well tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge firſt to find that which

he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to ſhew quickneſs of conceit in cutting off evidence or counſel too ſhort; or to prevent information by queſtions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of ſpeech; to recapitulate, ſelect, and collate the material points of that which hath been ſaid; and to give the rule or ſentence. Whatſoever is above theſe is too much, and proceedeth either of glory and willingneſs to ſpeak, or of impatience to hear, or of ſhortneſs of memory, or of want of a ſtayed and equal attention. It is a ſtrange thing to ſee that the boldneſs of advocates ſhould prevail with judges; whereas they ſhould imitate God, in whoſe ſeat they ſit; who repreſſeth the preſumptuous, and giveth grace to the modeſt: but it is more ſtrange, that judges ſhould have noted favourites, which cannot but cauſe multiplication of fees, and ſuſpicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate ſome commendation and gracing where cauſes are well handled and fair pleaded, eſpecially towards the ſide which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client

the reputation of his counſel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cauſe. There is likewiſe due to the public a civil reprehenſion of advocates where there appeareth cunning counſel, groſs neglect, ſlight information, indiſcreet preſſing, or an over-bold defence: and let not the counſel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himſelf into the handling of the cauſe anew after the judge hath declared his ſentence; but on the other ſide, let not the judge meet the cauſe half way, nor give occaſion to the party to ſay, his counſel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and miniſters. The place of juſtice is an hallowed place; and, therefore, not only the bench, but the footpace and precincts and purpriſe thereof ought to be preſerved without ſcandal and corruption; for, certainly, grapes, (as the ſcripture ſaith,) "will not be gathered of thorns "or thiſtles;" neither can juſtice yield her fruit with ſweetneſs amongſt the briars and brambles of catching and polling clerks and miniſters. The attendance of courts is ſubject to four bad inſtruments: firſt, certain perſons that are ſowers of ſuits; which make the court

ſwell, and the country pine: the ſecond ſort is of thoſe, that engage courts in quarrels of juriſdiction, and are not truly "amici curiæ," but "paraſiti curiæ," in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own ſcraps and advantages: the third ſort is of thoſe that may be accounted the left hands of courts; perſons that are full of nimble and ſiniſter tricks and ſhifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courſes of courts, and bring juſtice into oblique lines and labyrinths: and the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees; which juſtifies the common reſemblance of the courts of juſtice to the buſh, whereunto while the ſheep flies for defence in weather, he is ſure to loſe part of his fleece. On the other ſide, an ancient clerk, ſkilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and underſtanding in the buſineſs of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himſelf.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the ſovereign and eſtate. Judges ought, above all, to remember the concluſion of the Roman twelve tables; "Salus populi ſuprema lex;" and to know that laws, except they be in order

to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inſpired: therefore it is an happy thing in a ſtate when kings and ſtates do often conſult with judges; and again, when judges do often conſult with the king and ſtate: the one, when there is matter of law intervenient in buſineſs of ſtate; the other, when there is ſome conſideration of ſtate intervenient in matter of law; for many times, the things deduced to judgment may be "meum" and "tuum," when the reaſon and conſequence thereof may trench to point of eſtate: I call matter of eſtate, not only the parts of ſovereignty, but whatſoever introduceth any great alteration, or dangerous precedent; or concerneth manifeſtly any great portion of people: and let no man weakly conceive that juſt laws, and true policy have any antipathy; for they are like the ſpirits and ſinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges alſo remember, that Solomon's throne was ſupported by lions on both ſides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne; being circumſpect that they do not check or oppoſe any points of ſovereignty. Let not judges alſo be ſo ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a

principal part of their office, a wiſe uſe and application of laws; for they may remember what the Apoſtle ſaith of a greater law than theirs; " Nos ſcimus quia lex bona eſt, modo " quis ea utatur legitime."

OF ANGER.

To ſeek to extinguiſh anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: " Be angry, but ſin not: let not the ſun go " down upon your anger." Anger muſt be limited and confined, both in race and in time. We will firſt ſpeak how the natural inclination and habit, " to be angry," may be attempted and calmed; ſecondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repreſſed, or, at leaſt, refrained from doing miſchief; thirdly, how to raiſe anger, or appeaſe anger in another.

For the firſt, there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life: and the beſt time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca

ſaith well, "that anger is like rain, which "breaks itſelf upon that it falls." The ſcripture exhorteth us, "to poſſeſs our ſouls in "patience;" whoſoever is out of patience, is out of poſſeſſion of his ſoul. Men muſt not turn bees;

"Animaſque in vulnere ponunt."

Anger is certainly a kind of baſeneſs; as it appears well in the weakneſs of thoſe ſubjects in whom it reigns; children, women, old folks, ſick folks. Only men muſt beware that they carry their anger rather with ſcorn than with fear; ſo that they may ſeem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing eaſily done, if a man will give law to himſelf in it.

For the ſecond point, the cauſes and motives of anger are chiefly three: firſt, to be too ſenſible of hurt; for no man is angry that feels not himſelf hurt; and, therefore, tender and delicate perſons muſt needs be oft angry, they have ſo many things to trouble them, which more robuſt natures have little ſenſe of: the next is, the apprehenſion and conſtruction of the injury offered to be, in the circumſtances

thereof, full of contempt; for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger as much or more than the hurt itſelf; and, therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumſtances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much: laſtly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation doth multiply and ſharpen anger; wherein the remedy is that a man ſhould have, as Gonſalvo was wont to ſay, "telam "honoris craſſiorem." But in all refrainings of anger it is the beſt remedy to win time, and to make a man's ſelf believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foreſees a time for it, and ſo to ſtill himſelf in the mean time, and reſerve it.

To contain anger from miſchief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you muſt have ſpecial caution: the one, of extreme bitterneſs of words, eſpecially if they be aculeate and proper; for "communia male-"dicta" are nothing ſo much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no ſecrets; for that makes him not fit for ſociety: the other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any buſineſs in a fit of anger; but howſoever you ſhew bitterneſs, do not act any thing that is not revocable.

For raiſing and appeaſing anger in another, it is done chiefly by chooſing of times, when men are forwardeſt and worſt diſpoſed to incenſe them; again, by gathering, (as was touched before,) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt: and the two remedies are by the contraries: the former to take good times, when firſt to relate to a man an angry buſineſs, for the firſt impreſſion is much; and the other is, to ſever, as much as may be, the conſtruction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to miſunderſtanding, fear, paſſion, or what you will.

OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

Solomon ſaith, "there is no new thing upon "the earth:" ſo that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance; ſo Solomon giveth his ſentence, "that "all novelty is but oblivion;" whereby you may ſee, that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abſtruſe aſtrologer that ſaith, if it were not for two things that are conſtant, (the one is,

that the fixed ſtars ever ſtand at like diſtance one from another and never come nearer together nor go farther aſunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time,) no individual would laſt one moment: certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a ſtay. The great winding-ſheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely diſpeople, but deſtroy. Phaeton's car went but a day; and the three year's drought, in the time of Elias, was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the Weſt Indies, they are but narrow; but in the other two deſtructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is farther to be noted that the remnant of people, which hap to be reſerved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time paſt; ſo that the oblivion is all one, as if none had been left. If you conſider well of the people of the Weſt Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer, or a younger people than the people of the old world; and it is much more likely, that the

deſtruction, that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes, (as the Ægyptian prieſt told Solon concerning the iſland of Atlantis, that it was ſwallowed by an earthquake,) but rather, that it was deſolated by a particular deluge; for earthquakes are ſeldom in thoſe parts: but on the other ſide, they have ſuch pouring rivers, as the rivers of Aſia, and Africa, and Europe, are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewiſe, or mountains, are far higher than thoſe with us; whereby it ſeems, that the remnants of generation of men were, in ſuch a particular deluge, ſaved. As for the obſervation that Machiavel hath, that the jealouſy of ſects doth much extinguiſh the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguiſh all heathen antiquities; I do not find that thoſe zeals do any great effects, nor laſt long: as it appeared in the ſucceſſion of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.

The viciſſitude or mutations in the ſuperior globe, are no fit matter for this preſent argument. It may be Plato's great year, if the world ſhould laſt ſo long, would have ſome effect, not in renewing the ſtate of like indi-

viduals, (for that is the fume of thoſe that conceive the celeſtial bodies have more accurate influences upon theſe things below, than indeed they have,) but in groſs. Comets, out of queſtion, have likewiſe power and effect over the groſs and maſs of things: but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wiſely obſerved in their effects; eſpecially in their reſpective effects; that is, what kind of comet, for magnitude, colour, verſion of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or laſting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They ſay it is obſerved in the Low Countries, (I know not in what part,) that every five and thirty years the ſame kind and ſuit of years and weathers comes about again; as great froſts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, ſummers with little heat, and the like; and they call it the prime: it is a thing I do the rather mention, becauſe, computing backwards, I have found ſome concurrence.

But to leave theſe points of nature, and to come to men. The greateſt viciſſitude of

things amongſt men, is the viciſſitude of ſects and religions; for thoſe orbs rule in men's minds moſt. The true religion is built upon the rock; the reſt are toſſed upon the waves of time. To ſpeak therefore of the cauſes of new ſects, and to give ſome counſel concerning them, as far as the weakneſs of human judgment can give ſtay to ſo great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by diſcords; and when the holineſs of the profeſſors of religion is decayed and full of ſcandal; and withal the times be ſtupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the ſpringing up of a new ſect: if then alſo there ſhould ariſe any extravagant and ſtrange ſpirit to make himſelf author thereof; all which points held when Mahomet publiſhed his law. If a new ſect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not ſpread: the one is the ſupplanting, or the oppoſing of authority eſtabliſhed; for nothing is more popular than that; the other is the giving licenſe to pleaſures and a voluptuous life: for as for ſpeculative hereſies, (ſuch as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians,) though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they

do not produce any great alterations in ſtates; except it be by the help of civil occaſions. There be three manner of plantations of new ſects: by the power of ſigns and miracles; by the eloquence and wiſdom of ſpeech and perſuaſion; and by the ſword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongſt miracles; becauſe they ſeem to exceed the ſtrength of human nature: and I may do the like of ſuperlative and admirable holineſs of life. Surely there is no better way to ſtop the riſing of new ſects and ſchiſms, than to reform abuſes; to compound the ſmaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with ſanguinary perſecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterneſs.

The changes and viciſſitude in wars are many; but chiefly in three things; in the ſeats or ſtages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, ſeemed more to move from eaſt to weſt; for the Perſians, Aſſyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the invaders,) were all eaſtern people. It is true, the Gauls were weſtern; but we read but of two incurſions of theirs;

the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome: but eaſt and weſt have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the eaſt or weſt, any certainty of obſervation: but north and ſouth are fixed; and it hath ſeldom or never been ſeen that the far ſouthern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwiſe; whereby it is manifeſt, that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region; be it in reſpect of the ſtars of that hemiſphere, or of the great continents that are upon the north; whereas the ſouth part, for aught that is known, is almoſt all ſea; or, (which is moſt apparent,) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that, which, without aid of diſcipline, doth make the bodies hardeſt, and the courage warmeſt.

Upon the breaking and ſhivering of a great ſtate and empire, you may be ſure to have wars; for great empires, while they ſtand, do enervate and deſtroy the forces of the natives which they have ſubdued, reſting upon their own protecting forces; and then, when they fail alſo, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey: ſo was it in the decay of the Roman empire, and likewiſe in the empire of Al-

maigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befal to Spain, if it ſhould break. The great acceſſions and unions of kingdoms do likewiſe ſtir up wars: for when a ſtate grows to an over power, it is like a great flood that will be ſure to overflow; as it hath been ſeen in the ſtates of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath feweſt barbarous people, but ſuch as commonly will not marry or generate except they know means to live, (as it is almoſt every where at this day, except Tartary,) there is no danger of inundations of people: but when there be great ſhoals of people, which go on to populate without foreſeeing means of life and ſuſtentation, it is of neceſſity that once in an age or two they diſcharge a portion of their people upon other nations, which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; caſting lots what part ſhould ſtay at home, and what ſhould ſeek their fortunes. When a warlike ſtate grows ſoft and effeminate, they may be ſure of a war: for commonly ſuch ſtates are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and ſo the prey inviteth,

and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and obſervation: yet we ſee even they have returns and viciſſitudes; for certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxydracæ in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning and magic; and it is well known that the uſe of ordnance hath been in China above two thouſand years. The conditions of weapons and their improvement are, firſt, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger, as it is ſeen in ordnance and muſkets: ſecondly, the ſtrength of the percuſſion; wherein likewiſe ordnance do exceed all arietations, and ancient inventions: the third is, the commodious uſe of them; as that they may ſerve in all weathers; that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the firſt, men reſted extremely upon number: they did put the wars likewiſe upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and ſo trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying

their battles. After they grew to reſt upon number, rather competent than vaſt; they grew to advantages of place, cunning diverſions, and the like; and they grew more ſkilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a ſtate, arms do flouriſh; in the middle age of a ſtate, learning; and then both of them together for a time: in the declining age of a ſtate, mechanical arts and merchandize. Learning hath its infancy, when it is but beginning, and almoſt childiſh; then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then its ſtrength of years, when it is ſolid and reduced; and laſtly, its old age, when it waxeth dry and exhauſt: but it is not good to look too long upon theſe turning wheels of viciſſitude; leſt we become giddy: as for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY ON FAME.

The poets make Fame a monſter: they deſcribe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and ſententiouſly: they ſay, Look how many feathers ſhe hath, ſo many eyes ſhe hath underneath, ſo many tongues, ſo many voices, ſhe pricks up ſo many ears.

This is a flouriſh: there follow excellent parables; as that ſhe gathereth ſtrength in going; that ſhe goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds; that in the day-time ſhe ſitteth in a watch-tower, and flyeth moſt by night; that ſhe mingleth things done with things not done; and that ſhe is a terror to great cities: but that which paſſeth all the reſt is, they do recount that the earth, mother of the giants that made war againſt Jupiter and were by him deſtroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth fame; for certain it is, that rebels, figured by the giants and ſeditious fames and libels, are but brothers and ſiſters, maſculine and feminine: but now if a man

can tame this monſter, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly at other ravening fowl and kill them, it is ſomewhat worth: but we are infected with the ſtyle of the poets. To ſpeak now in a ſad and ſerious manner: there is not in all the politics a place leſs handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame; we will therefore ſpeak of theſe points: what are falſe fames; and what are true fames; and how they may be beſt diſcerned; how fames may be ſown and raiſed; how they may be ſpread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid dead; and other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is ſcarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, eſpecially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he ſcattered, that Vitellius had in purpoſe to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæſar took Pompey unprovided, and laid aſleep his induſtry and preparations by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæſar's own ſoldiers loved him not; and being wearied

with the wars and laden with the ſpoils of Gaul, would forſake him as ſoon as he came into Italy. Livia ſettled all things for the ſucceſſion of her ſon Tiberius by continually giving out, that her huſband Auguſtus was upon recovery and amendment; and it is an uſual thing with the baſhaws, to conceal the death of the great Turk from the janizaries and men of war to ſave the ſacking of Conſtantinople, and other towns, as their manner is. Themiſtocles made Xerxes, king of Perſia, poſt apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Græcians had a purpoſe to break his bridge of ſhips which he had made athwart the Helleſpont. There be a thouſand ſuch like examples, and the more they are the leſs they need to be repeated, becauſe a man meeteth with them every where: therefore let all wiſe governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and deſigns themſelves.

THE REST WAS NOT FINISHED.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Of Truth	1
Death	5
Unity in Religion	8
Revenge	16
Adverſity	18
Simulation and Diſſimulation	20
Parents and Children	25
Marriage and Single Life	28
Envy	31
Love	40
Great Place	43
Boldneſs	49
Goodneſs, and Goodneſs of Nature	52
A King	56
Nobility	60
Seditions and Troubles	63
Atheiſm	75
Superſtition	79
Travel	82
Empire	86
Counſel	94
Delays	102
Cunning	104
Wiſdom for a Man's Self	110
Innovations	113
Diſpatch	115
Seeming Wiſe	118
Friendſhip	120
Expenſe	133

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Of The True Greatneſs of Kingdoms and Eſtates 135
...Regimen of Health 151
...Suſpicion 154
...Diſcourſe 156
...Plantations 159
...Riches 164
...Prophecies 170
...Ambition 175
...Maſques and Triumphs 178
...Nature in Men 181
...Cuſtom and Education 184
...Fortune 187
...Uſury 190
...Youth and Age 196
...Beauty 199
...Deformity 201
...Building 204
...Gardens 211
...Negociating 222
...Followers and Friends 225
...Suitors 227
...Studies 231
...Faction 233
...Ceremonies and Reſpects 236
...Praiſe 239
...Vain Glory 242
...Honour and Reputation 245
...Judicature 248
...Anger 255
...Viciſſitude of Things 258
A Fragment of an Eſſay on Fame 268

T. Bensley, Printer, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, London.